### THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

MAY, 1931

## The Progress of the World

By ALBERT SHAW

The Late Nicholas Longworth

1931

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IT HAS BEEN SAID frequently that the right kind of men can govern well even under a bad system, while men of the wrong kind will govern badly

no matter how excellent the machinery may be. Our federal mechanism of government is remarkably good, but it is highly complicated. Its smooth and successful operation depends to a greater extent than is commonly understood upon personal qualities in the men who control it. The late Nicholas Longworth, who served as Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Sixty-ninth, Seventieth, and Seventy-first Congresses, not only held the most authoritative of all political positions in the United States excepting the

supreme office of the Presidency, but his personal qualities were such as greatly to enhance the influence and power of the Speakership. He brought to his duties an unfailing sense of fair play that won the confidence of every member of the House. Also he won the affection of the House by his sympathetic understanding of men, his capacity for friendship, and his total freedom from the dicta-He maintorial manner. tained the dignity of his post as firmly as any predecessor in the long line of Speakers, while at the same time his kindliness, genial humor, and modesty endeared him to Congressmen of all parties and from every State. He was reëlected last November to the new Seventy-second Congress, and had already been chosen by the Republicans as their candidate for a fourth term as Speaker. The Longworth family had been prominent in his home city of Cincinnati for four generations. His father had been a judge, and his grandfather a successful business man, of great wealth. After graduation at Harvard he had returned to Cincinnati, where he completed law studies under the tutelage of his fellow-townsman, the late Chief Justice William Howard Taft.

A Consistent Republican Statesman WITH NO NEED of practising his profession for a livelihood, Nicholas Longworth's aptitudes drew him at once into the field of party politics. His

temperament was such that he could always work comfortably with his fellow-Republicans. Although a

harmonizer by nature, he had mentality, courage, and willpower enough to stand upon his own feet. But he was never tempted to abandon his advantages as an orthodox partisan. This ability to help carry on a government under our two-party system was simply a mark of his practical common sense, and of his superior intelligence in the realm of politics. Circumstances had made him a good Republican: otherwise he would have been a good Democrat. He had no fancy for petulant and impatient factionalism, and still less could he admire self-inflated political egoists. But so generous was his nature that he had no personal disagreements with Congressmen who refused to submit to the discipline of the party caucus. He had figured in State politics for a few years, serving in both branches of the Ohio Legislature, when at the age of thirty-three (he



THE LATE NICHOLAS LONGWORTH
with his wife, Mrs. (Alice Roosevelt) Longworth and
their daughter, Paulina.

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was born on November 5, 1869) he was elected to Congress in 1902. On February 17, 1906, he was married at the White House to Miss Alice Roosevelt, eldest of the six children of the President. In the contest of 1912, when he was running again as the Republican candidate for a sixth term, he supported President Taft rather than his father-in-law. Roosevelt swept Ohio, and Mr. Longworth was defeated for Congress. But he was elected again in 1914; and except for the one gap (1913-15) he had been chosen to represent his district for a continuous period of thirty years. He had gone to Aiken, South Carolina, early in April to throw off a cold and to engage in those outdoor recreations which he had cultivated all his life and which had kept him in superb health. But his cold resulted in pneumonia and he died on April 9. Seldom has the death of a public man evoked more universal expressions of esteem.

THERE HAVE BEEN no less than five Organizing the deaths among members chosen to the Seventy-Second Seventy-second Congress last Novem-Congress ber, but their seats will have been filled (it is supposed) without affecting the party balance. It is estimated that there will be 217 Republicans, 217 Democrats and one Farmer-Labor member when the House is organized in the early days of next December. The Democratic candidate for the Speakership will be John Garner of Texas, who had long been one of Mr. Longworth's most intimate friends. Although leaders of opposing parties, they had on countless occasions worked together in a spirit of patriotism in the shaping of legislative and financial programs. With Mr. Longworth in the Speaker's chair, Mr. Tilson of Connecticut and Mr. Snell of New York have been respectively Floor Leader and Chairman of the Rules Committee. Acting in close cooperation, these three men have been able to make the House of Representatives an example to all the world of a businesslike and efficient parliamentary body. The Democrats had already agreed to present Mr. Garner as their candidate for the Speakership; and the Republicans may now choose to support either Mr. Tilson or Mr. Snell. But it may prove difficult to secure the votes of certain Western members who are nominally Republicans but who are in political accord with the insurgents of the Senate. A small group holding the balance of power between two great parties usually has a tendency to make demands and hunt for bargains. Rather than yield to the dictation of any small insurgent bloc it would doubtless be a better thing for Republicans in both Houses of Congress to insist upon Democratic Mr. Longworth's remarkable popularity control. would have been an asset for the Republicans in an evenly balanced House. But it would serve public interests to choose Mr. Garner, rather than a Republican who is not in usual accord with his own party.

Candidates
for the
Presidency

AS PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTION TIME approached in 1924, it became evident enough that the Republicans would nominate President Coolidge for a full term in his own right. As Vice-President, he had learned of the death of President Harding while he was visiting

his father, Col. John Coolidge, in the little farmhouse at Plymouth Notch, Vermont. Mr. Harding died at San Francisco on August 2, 1923. Before daylight the next morning Mr. Coolidge took the oath of office in Vermont, hurried to Washington, and thus passed from the dignified leisure of the Vice-Presidency to the sudden assumption of unequalled responsibilities as our Chief Executive. With Mr. Hughes, Mr. Mellon, Mr. Weeks, Mr. New, and other experienced men in the Harding Cabinet, Mr. Coolidge wisely took things as he found them. He sought no abrupt changes, whether of personnel or of policy. Less than a year later, he was acclaimed for another term by the National Republican Convention, and his selection was endorsed and accepted by the country.

IN THE CONVENTION at Chicago that Mr. Hoover's nominated Mr. Harding, in 1920, Her-Period of bert Hoover was entered as a candi-Leadership date by his friends. This was with warm approval on the part of millions of voters, but without enough organized backing in political circles to result in securing his selection rather than that of Senator Harding when a compromise became necessary. Mr. Hoover accepted Mr. Harding's invitation to a place in the Cabinet, and during a period of more than seven years he labored incessantly at his post as Secretary of Commerce. As the convention of 1928 approached, it became evident that Mr. Hoover had gained political as well as popular strength. When it was positively stated that Mr. Hughes would not be a candidate, the moral support of the Coolidge administration and its friends centered upon the name of Herbert Hoover. He has now been in the White House a little more than two years, during which time the country has passed from the climax of a period of speculative prosperity and over-stimulated production to one of drastic deflation, of reduced production and of serious unemployment, with bad agricultural conditions rendered worse by a year of crop failures due to lack of rainfall. In the Congressional and State elections of last fall, the Republicans experienced average losses that were heavy enough to reassure the Democratic leaders, and, indeed, to make some of them a little more boastful and jubilant than could be warranted by an impartial study of the facts. The parties will be as nearly equal as possible in the new Congress. But one of them has the advantage of being firmly led, and entrenched in Executive authority. Mr. Hoover stands in a position of unshaken advantage.

Among a few less capable Republican Only One politicians there were some ques-Republican tionings, as the election returns were Now Visible at first reported, last November. Was the country definitely refusing to give Mr. Hoover and his administration a vote of confidence? With the threatened loss of all the Southern support that was accorded Mr. Hoover in 1928, and with the alleged growth of discontent, Russian radicalism, and sour insurgency in the West, would it be impossible to reëlect Mr. Hoover? Would the Republicans stand a better chance if they should adopt the single-term idea, apologize for themselves, and nominate some-

one else, thus repudiating the Hoover administration? But who under those circumstances could be chosen? Already, it can be said, those questionings have ceased; and they had never reached high enough to touch the level of influential and thoughtful members of the Republican party. Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Morrow are Eastern Republicans, representing the viewpoint of socalled conservative financial and Mr. Hoover business interests. comes from the far West, but with a broad national and international experience greater than that of any other Republican leader. Hughes is Chief Justice by virtue of Mr. Hoover's appointment, and is beyond the reach of politics.

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Governor Lowden now prefers non-official spheres of usefulness. Every available Republican seems to be identified with what we may

call the Coolidge-Hoover principles of home and foreign policy. No administration has ever been more free from scandals, from charges of inefficiency, or from narrow partisanship than that of Mr. Hoover. The differences between the President and the Seventy-first Congress were—without a single exception—creditable to the President as a man of superior understanding. He has shown himself courageous in holding to his convictions, and loyal to his oath of office. It is true that he opposed the so-called "debenture" plan that Senator Borah continues to advocate. But we have never discovered an intelligent argument in favor of that measure. Some Democrats of economic grasp, indeed, voted for it; but this was a matter of party tactics. They were fully assured in advance that "the debenture" would not be enacted into law. Farmers can read and think; and in the long run they do not like politicians who try to humbug them, under pretense of working for the welfare of agriculture.

Republicans to Take the Aggressive Mr. Hoover is in a position to take the national view. No Senator has any such vantage-ground. It is reasonable and also truthful to say that

Mr. Hoover is better able to judge of the needs and conditions of American agriculture than is any single member of either House. Neither is any Senator or Congressman more genuinely devoted to the welfare of the veterans of the World War than are the President, the Secretary of War, and the head of the Veterans Bureau. There is no definite position that the President has taken which cannot be supported aggressively by Republicans in the campaign of 1932. For the party to nominate any so-called Republican who stands out as an opponent of the Administration would, of course, invite overwhelming defeat in advance. Mr. Hoover is an official of immense industry, who never evades any difficulty that presents itself, as he deals with every part of his varied task. The Presidency is too great and responsible a place to



THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. HOOVER, WITH THEIR GRANDCHILDREN
An Easter Monday scene, overlooking the egg-rolling festival on the White House lawn.

be sought by men of personal or selfish ambition. It may, however, be sought most properly by men possessed of a high sense of public duty, with a record of useful service, who have the fibre to face criticism, and who are endowed with the physical and moral strength to carry the burdens of the most exacting of all offices. As convention time approaches next year, Mr. Hoover's nomination will be as clearly indicated by all the facts that bear upon the situation as was the case when McKinley was renominated in 1900, Roosevelt in 1904, Woodrow Wilson in 1916, and Coolidge in 1924. Onlooking Democrats have seen this from the beginning, and have had no other opponent in mind, as they have been thinking of the best choice to make for their own new party leadership. Republicans will take stock, find their assets satisfactory, and appeal with enthusiasm for a verdict of national confidence.

Rival Democratic Factions THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY is, of course, more formidable in opposition, because it launches its attacks from so many different angles. In the South

it has been largely a party of sectional tradition. In the East it is composed of several groups, each with a different history, the most powerful of them today being dominated by Tammany Hall in New York City. In the West it has been mainly a party of economic sectionalism, prejudiced against railroads and large business enterprises. The Western faction gained dominance in 1896, and forced Mr. Bryan's candidacy upon the party in that year, again in 1900, and finally in 1908. At other times, the eastern conservative wing has dominated the Democracy, with Grover Cleveland and Alton B. Parker winning presidential nominations. A terrific struggle between factions in 1912 resulted in the choice of Woodrow Wilson, through alliance between the Bryan faction and a part of the Southern element. With Mr. McAdoo as the more logical candidate in 1920, the convention at San Francisco com-

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promised on an Ohio leader, Mr. Cox. Again with Mr. McAdoo a resolute candidate in 1924, and with the South rallied against Tammany Hall, the convention in New York City produced a deadlock of unprecedented duration. The South made an exhaustive effort to defeat the Tammany candidate, Governor Alfred E. Smith. John W. Davis of West Virginia and New York, who had been a rising figure in the Wilson administration, was chosen as the compromise candidate. But he was not well supported at the polls by the Tammany braves, and was badly defeated by President Coolidge. Democrats like Woodrow Wilson, William G. McAdoo, the late Senator Underwood, and John W. Davis were in point of fact all broadly national in experience and outlook, and in no sense sectional; but they had the advantage of Southern heritage and sympathy.

Victory and Defeat of Alfred E. Smith

WITH A LONG EXPERIENCE of politics in New York City and State, Al Smith had won more than statewide approval as a man of remarkable ability,

and a tactful and successful legislator and Governor. His policies showed courage, and he was in sympathy with social progress. He was a magnetic leader, with an unusually strong appeal to the voting masses. He had placed himself in the lead of forces that were demanding repeal or modification of the national prohibition system. His success in the Democratic convention of 1928 was partly due to Tammany's skilful political propaganda—carried on without ceasing for four years. But it was also due in greater part to his unusual personal qualities, and still more to the fact that the elements opposing the Smith movement had not rallied around a candidate of their own. Instead of controlling the convention, as they might have done, the Southern Democrats chose to allow Mr. Smith to be nominated, and then in a revolt of astonishing extent they defeated him overwhelmingly at the polls, allowing a large part of the South to be carried by the Hoover ticket.

Real Leaders Do Not Seek a Hermitage As the returns rolled in on Wednesday, November 7, the day after the presidential election of 1928, it was asserted everywhere that the Demo-

crats as a national body had adopted a drastic, complete and final method of laying Al Smith away upon the topmost political shelf, and of driving Tammany back to Manhattan Island for at least another generation. But who can say that a leader is crushed because of a single defeat? May not his defeat discipline him for victory at some more favorable conjunction of circumstances? No nominee for reëlection was ever so overwhelmingly beaten as Mr. Taft. He chuckled and bore the results of 1912 with good temper. The country took him to its heart, and all the friends of Theodore Roosevelt renewed their earlier ties of confidence and affection, when William Howard Taft appeared as a sincere mourner at the funeral of the rival who had opposed him in 1912. People of all parties and sections rejoiced when at length Mr. Taft reached the post that he most desired, and became Chief Justice. Mr. Hughes left the bench to take a presidential nomination and heal the breach between

the rival halves of the Republican party in 1916. He was defeated by a fluke, bore the disappointment with perfect temper, served under two Presidents as a great Secretary of State, and in due time became Chief Justice, with world-wide admiration and approval Grover Cleveland made enemies within his own party. and when renominated was defeated for a second consecutive term. But after an interval he was nominated for the third time, was duly elected, and built his enduring fame upon the public work of his last years. Mr. Bryan suffered defeats, yet he won nominations: and in 1912 he dominated the Democratic convention and became Secretary of State. Mr. LaFollette had a stormy career, which included a considerable list of defeats and disappointments, yet he lived to round out his long period of public life with a reputation for sheer courage that his surviving political enemies fully acknowledged, though perhaps with tardy generosity.

New York's Most Daring Builder BUT THE PRESENT question is: Did the leadership of Hon. Alfred E. Smith suffer permanent eclipse by reason of the great Hoover victory of 1928? It

would seem to us altogether otherwise. His position as a man of weight and influence appears to have been gaining. He has won the added respect of many intelligent citizens, because he has avoided practising the arts of the demagogue as a means of gaining a certain kind of political support. He respects able business men, and is not afraid to be found in their company. He has been occupying himself with the affairs of a bank, but especially he has been identified (as president of the company) with the construction and ownership of the most amazing monument of utilitarian architecture in all the history of the world. The new groups of so-called skyscrapers in New York City represent so astounding a transformation that men of long experience and wide observation, familiar with modern urban developments all the way from San Francisco to Budapest, are more impressed than those who have no such basis for comparison. The Empire State Building, standing on the site of the original Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at 34th Street and Fifth Avenue, is simply the largest of all these colossal structures. It represents an investment of fifty millions of dollars. Its steel frame was reared with magic speed, and the vertical lines adopted by the architects add to the sense of its great height. Elevators move so smoothly that passengers—who are carried at the rate of more than sixty stories per minute—are hardly aware of any motion.

Gov. Roosevelt An Active Candidate What has this to do with the political standing of Alfred E. Smith? It is hard to answer that question by any array of facts or arguments. Governor

Smith, more than anyone else, was identified with the thoroughgoing reconstruction of the government of the Empire State through the adoption of constitutional changes that he advocated. He made appointments, under the new scheme of centralized executive government, that were highly praised by men of all parties. That leading New York Republicans like Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, and many others throughout the state, held him in high regard for his work as gov-

ernor, is not denied. His especial admirers would say that the Empire State Building in some way typifies the social and material progress of the great city and state which had lifted Smith from his humble beginnings in the tenement house district of the East Side to repeated terms of service as head of the commonwealth. It had not been commonly supposed that Governor Smith would turn from his new business activities to become a candidate once more, after his victory in the convention of 1928, followed by his defeat at the polls. For some time past there has been an active movement in favor of the nomination for President of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, who succeeded Governor Smith at Albany, and it now emerges as an organized "boom." It will be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt made the convention speech that placed Mr. Smith in nomination, and that the Tammany forces bestowed the Governorship upon him in that same election. He was reëlected by a large majority last November, for a second term of two years. Mr. Jesse I. Straus, a New York merchant who has been active in the work of the Democratic National Committee, invited the men and women who were delegates or alternates in the last national convention to indicate their choice for next year by replying to his circular letter. His list included more than two thousand names. He received replies from 942, but 98 of them expressed no first choice. Of the 844 who disclosed their preferences, more than half, namely, 478, favored Governor Roosevelt. Of the others, Alfred E. Smith is credited with 125, and Owen D. Young with 73.

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THE EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, TALLEST IN THE WORLD

On Fifth Avenue at Thirty-fourth Street, New York City, the site of the old
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The mooring mast tip is 1248 feet high. Below, on the
eighty-sixth floor, is an observatory roof. Six months only, from March to
September 1930, were required to erect the steel framework.

THESE THREE CITIZENS Of New York What Will State were far in the lead. Next New York came Governor Ritchie of Maryland Leaders Do? with 39, Senator Robinson of Arkansas with 38, Newton D. Baker of Ohio with 35, James A. Reed of Missouri with 15, the remaining 41 being variously scattered. While Mr. Straus's effort shows that the Roosevelt movement is active and definite, it is by no means conclusive. It should be noted that Mr. Straus did not canvass the largest group on his list of the members of the 1928 convention, that is to say, he did not ask New York's Democratic politicians to express themselves. At this stage, the New York leaders would not have put themselves on record. Massachusetts favored Smith, Arkansas of course was for Robinson and Maryland for Ritchie, with Connecticut an even tie between Smith and Roosevelt. If the Democrats of New York state and city should choose to send a Smith delegation to the convention next year, it would not seem likely that the Roosevelt movement could survive. We are not aware that Mr. Smith seeks the nomination, nor have we any idea that Mr. Owen D. Young would lend encouragement to efforts to promote his choice by the party convention.

No one of intelligence and understanding could question Mr. Young's remarkable qualifications for any high office whatsoever. Judge Samuel Seabury is what might be termed "the man of the hour" in New York, because of his swift and relentless exposure of wrongdoing as investigator of the charges against certain magistrates. Judge Seabury is an independent Democrat, a former member of the highest court of the state, and at one time the Democratic nominee for governor. His name has now been added to the list of possible candidates for the Presidency. In 1928 it was the solid support of his own state that turned the scales and gave Governor Smith the nomination. Will the Democrats of New York rally around Governor Roosevelt's candidacy next year, and fight for that, even as in 1924 and 1928 they fought for Governor Smith? We may ask that question without making any guesses at the answer.

Some of the Available Men

Senator Dwight W. Morrow was born on January 11, 1873, and will therefore be 63 years of age in 1936—

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by no means too old to be a candidate. His college classmate, Calvin Coolidge, is only six months older, and would be at his best for another term if nominated in 1936. Senator Norris will be 75, and Senator Borah 71 at that time, and they will never be in the running for an executive post. The present Senator LaFollette, on the other hand, was born on February 6, 1895, and would therefore be in his forty-second year in 1936. Theodore Roosevelt, present Governor, of Porto Rico, was born on September 13, 1887, and will be 49 in 1936. As regards Democratic candidates, the question of age relates itself to the convention of 1932. Governor Roosevelt will be 50 years old, Al Smith 59, Owen D. Young 58, John W. Davis 59, Senator Robinson 60, Newton D. Baker 60, ex-Governor Cox 62, Senator Bulkley 51, Governor Ritchie 56, and Senator Cordell Hull 61. Which one of a possible dozen Democrats will lead his party against President Hoover in next year's election? The guess of any bright little girl of twelve would probably be as good as that of an experienced politician.

Chairman
Raskob's
Convictions

IN TWO SUCCESSIVE articles in this
magazine, Mr. Walter W. Head of
Chicago has insisted upon the importance of principles in our politics. He

tance of principles in our politics. He believes that Republicans and Democrats alike should take their platforms seriously, and show loyalty to their views of policy as well as to their leaders. The chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mr. John J. Raskob, holds similar views. Evidently he has little interest in party success for the mere sake of taking the offices away from one set of men and giving them to another. He has not associated much with spoilsmen and cheap-jack politicians. Like Mr. Head, who happens to be a strong Republican, Mr. Raskob believes that parties should give more thought to their principles and their policies than to ambitious rivalries of personality. He expressed his views in a meeting of the National Committee of his party early in March. He thought the committee should be preparing itself to make some recommendations to next year's convention. He met with violent opposition, especially by Southern men. But Mr. Raskob was not converted. It offends his orderly and serious mind that a great party should wait to discover its working beliefs amidst the hurly-burly of convention scenes, trusting to a platform committee's improvising, straddling or side-stepping. After a month, Mr. Raskob returned to the subject in a long letter dated April 5 and addressed to his fellow-members of the National Committee. This letter is a document that does justice to its author's intellectual sincerity and directness of purpose. He asks for a clear platform "along lines of simple economics, plain commonsense, and honesty." should be concrete, not complex, and every sentence should breathe such courage and strength as will inspire a sense of security and confidence." He holds firmly to the opinion that national committees should be engaged in the business of studying issues and policies-not to dominate national conventions, but to aid them in acting wisely. He asks members of the National Committee to send in written opinions to be discussed at a future meeting.

Will Liquor
Become a
Party Issue?

CHAIRMAN RASKOB sets the ball rolling by giving his own views. For example, he has definite ideas about the proper relations between govern-

ment and business. Along these lines his statements are valuable and sound. Let us hope, for its own credit, that the party will accept most of his points. The greater part of his letter is devoted to the prohibition question. He aspires to bring the Wets of the North and the Drys of the South to an agreement upon a plan that he proceeds to outline. Allowing the Eighteenth Amendment to stand permanently, he proposes the adoption of a new amendment under which any State may resume complete authority over the making. handling, and selling of intoxicating liquors, "provided the plan under which that State is to do this is first approved by the people of that State in a statewide referendum." He thinks that this arrangement ought to appeal to reasonable Drys. Apparently he does not see that we would be entangled still further with schemes and projects forced into the Constitution of the United States, from which it would be very difficult ever to become extricated. But at least Mr. Raskob is justified in asking the leaders of the Democratic party to seek some formulation on the liquor issue that can be offered to next year's convention. A majority of the Committee might be persuaded that it would be a good plan to submit the prohibition question (in one aspect or another) to state conventions called into being for that express purpose. A majority of the Southern Democratic leaders are hoping to keep the prohibition issue as much out of sight as possible, while bringing economic questions into the foreground. But Mr. Raskob insists upon sincerity and definiteness; and it will not be easy to draw a clear line between the economic views of Republicans and those of Democrats. Discontent due to hard times and unemployment is supposed always to ally itself with the party that is out of power. But party fanaticism is not so intense that Democrats as a mass would wish to have bad times last for another year simply in order to put the Republicans in a deeper hole.

Gov. Roosevelt and the Question of Water Power

As a CANDIDATE last year, Governor Roosevelt declared in favor of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, provided there could be guarantees

against the return of the saloon system and against the liquor business as a commercial industry. The State Democratic Convention, however, rejected his provisos, and declared for the unqualified repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Whereupon Governor Roosevelt accepted this platform, apparently without any qualms. His views on the question of liquor control may therefore be regarded as flexible and accommodating. In his campaign he seemed to favor the proposal that the state of New York should not only develop hydro-electric power but should prepare to distribute it to private consumers in competition with existing electrical companies. Subsequently, the commission which he had appointed to study the problems involved in the projected utilization of St. Lawrence River power sites reported against some of the Governor's preconceived ideas. The Republican

Legislature had taken the unusual course of authorizing the Governor to name his own commission, the appointments not to be subject to confirmation by the State Senate. He waited for about six months before naming the five members. They were well chosen, but they have not yet had time to complete the duties that were assigned to them. The Legislature early in April was upon the point of passing a bill, unanimously, providing for a permanent commission to proceed with St. Lawrence power development as a state undertaking. It had so passed the Assembly, when it occurred to the Hon. John Knight, leader of the Senate, to write into the bill the names of the Governor's existing commission. The Governor protested, declaring that this would deprive him of an appointing power which he regarded as his by right, and that it was meant to cause delay by forcing a veto. If there had been no political prestige at stake, the continuance of the Goyernor's commission would have been the obvious and desirable thing. But the commissioners themselves, not wishing to be involved in controversy, declared that they would not think of serving in a permanent capacity unless their choice was approved by both Governor and Legislature. The Senate withdrew its amendment, and the bill was adopted, leaving the selection of a permanent board to the Governor, subject, however, to confirmation by the Legislature.

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IN ORDER TO MAKE some progress to-**Politics** ward the development of the great Versus hydro-electric possibilities in the St. Cheap Power Lawrence rapids, the Republicans had receded from their earlier position in favor of leasing the sites to private companies. Governor Smith's insistence had brought agreement that there should be a public authority, authorized to sell bonds to pay for the proposed dam and power plant. Contracts were to be made with existing power companies for the purchase and distribution of electrical current. The companies were promising to adjust their rates in such a way as to give consumers the full benefit of any savings that might result from the fact that state ownership will exempt the St. Lawrence development itself from taxation, the bonds also being tax-exempt. Senator Knight's plan of naming the Board had advantages, if power development rather than politics were the real issue. With the names inserted in the bill the need of future confirmation would have been avoided. Unfortunately, the proposal to insert the names, which ought to have been made by the Governor himself, came from the Republican leader. But the Governor was allowed to have his own way; and no grounds were left upon which to assert a championship on behalf of the people against the alleged obstructions of a so-called "power trust." This St. Lawrence question has been chiefly one of politics rather than of business thus far; and there is little prospect of practical results in the near future. In the first place, the government at Washington must deal with the question, and it is by no means certain that the plans of the State of New York will be approved. If Senator Norris and his supporters are consistent, they will prefer federal development of St. Lawrence power, with interstate transmission and sale of electrical current. Furthermore, nothing can be

done until our federal government arrives at agreements with Canada. Negotiations regarding the proposed ship canal cannot well ignore the related project of hydro-electric development.

When Will the Dam Be Built? It is not so well understood that in the strictly Canadian rapids of the St. Lawrence there is much more undeveloped power than in the so-called

"international" rapids. It has been stated that the Canadians may prefer to develop their own separate power resources, before joining the United States in utilizing that part of the great river that is jointly owned, and that could not be handled as an engineering enterprise without Canadian cooperation. In the state campaign last fall, the women voters of New York were invited to believe that if they supported Governor Roosevelt they might hope for cheap electric services in all their households without any appreciable delay-just as certain wet leaders were declaring that the Eighteenth Amendment could and would be repealed within a year. It is fairly probable that obstacles may be overcome, and that the St. Lawrence rapids may be utilized for the distribution of electric power, within ten years. But meanwhile we may witness so many new ways of producing and applying power that the flow of rivers will not be regarded as valuable beyond all possible competition. Much of the electric current now produced is generated by steam power rather than by water power. Great changes are predicted in the effective utilization of coal and petroleum as sources of mechanical power. Engineers are, indeed, generally of the opinion that we shall continue to find falling water an economical agency. But the excitement that certain political agitators have been trying to create, regarding the dangers of a possible monopoly of water-power locations, lacks a sound basis of information. Increasingly, the utility companies are at the mercy of the rate-making authorities of states and cities, with the new Power Board at Washington also preparing to play its leading part. Mr. Raskob understands these subjects far better than does Senator Wheeler of Montana or Senator Norris.

The Break-down of Law and Justice Many Listeners on Sunday evening, April 5, heard the measured sentences and cultivated tones of Mr. Bainbridge Colby, former Secretary of

State, whose remarks were broadcast in "Collier's hour," and who characterized certain phases of current demoralization in the conduct of government and the enforcement of law. This eminent publicist referred to the relationships of crime and justice in the following terms: "A civilization that will suffer crime to pass unpunished, and will even view without agitation the evidence of a working alliance between crime and the forces upon which society relies for crime repression, must quickly alter its ways if it is to be saved. That this condition is nationwide, particularly in our greater cities, is a fact which none dispute. Today we read of self-constituted committees of citizens in cities throughout the land, organized for the purpose of taking over the work of detecting and punishing crime in order to save public order from utter collapse. In our larger cities it is obvious that some members of the judiciary are sitting not only on the Bench, but 'on the lid,' screening wrongdoers from punishment and interpreting not the law of the land, but the wishes of dominant and corrupt political organizations." It is conditions of this kind that are now to come under investigation in New York City (in addition to the more limited inquiries into the corrupt alliance between politicians, policemen and magistrates' courts) with Judge Samuel Seabury as chief inquisitor. The action of the Republican Legislature in selecting Judge Seabury to conduct this extended investigation has taken it out of party politics. On page 41 will be found a summary statement of the situation, written for us by William Jay Shefflin, Chairman of the Citizens Union, and organizer last month of a Citizens Committee of One Thousand to support a thorough, non-partisan inquiry.

How to Make Things Better It is obvious that New York City pays enough in salaries to its judges, of whom there are perhaps two hundred of all sorts and kinds, to secure

the finest system of civil and criminal justice to be found anywhere in the world. Current investigations are throwing light upon scandalous conditions in some of these tribunals. The fault may lie in part with public indifference, or with low community standards. But also we suffer from the lack of an efficient system, and from the political methods by which judges are variously elected or selected. Several modes of attack are needed at the same time. Judge Seabury's investigations will arouse public interest, and will surely promote improvement of judicial personnel, even under the existing chaotic system. But at the same time the Legislature will be urged to reform the system, following the advice of men like Judge Seabury and Chief Judge Cardozo. The Legislature has actually made a beginning. On March 31 Governor Roosevelt signed a bill providing for a temporary commission of sixteen members, the Governor appointing six, the Senate and Assembly each naming three, and the State Bar Association nominating four. This commission will report next year. It is hoped that its findings may lead the way to a permanent judicial council, of the kind now existing in a number of states. These judicial councils are referred to more fully in an article in this number of the Review which describes the exhaustive research work entered upon by the new Institute of Law at the Johns Hopkins University. This type of research must have a continuing character. It cannot be carried on in spectacular or sensational ways. It requires permanent endowment and current support, such as is now accorded to research in medicine, or in the scientific laboratories of the universities and the great industries.

Chicago's
Badness—
and Greatness

Plans and prospects for the following year, 1933, when Chicago will invite the world to attend its centennial celebration. It is preparing an Exposition which—if

such a thing be possible-will surpass its World Fair of 1893. People in foreign countries have their news from Chicago in distorted forms. It is perhaps true that crimes of violence are twenty times more frequent in ratio of population in our American cities than in London, or certain other European centers. Many things in Chicago's municipal government have been. and are, deplorable. Criminal gangs have flourished. especially by reason of the enormous sums collected from bootleggers and speakeasies. That there has been a criminal conspiracy of gangsters, politicians, and police officials is notoriously true. There was more than national interest in Chicago's election of a mayor on Tuesday, April 7. "Big Bill" Thompson was a candidate in the Republican primary for another four-year term, and he won the nomination in spite of strong opposition. The Democratic candidate was Anton Joseph Cermak. He had come as an emigrant child from Bohemia to follow his father's trade of coal miner in Illinois. But he had risen quickly in local politics, and had been a Democratic leader and official in Cook County for many years. Thompson went so far in his boisterous campaign as to ridicule Cermak's name and foreign birth, stigmatizing him as unfit to be a "World's Fair Mayor." People of all parties and racial origins joined to defeat Thompson; and Cermak was elected by nearly 200,000 majority. It would appear that more Republicans than Democrats made up the great total of Mr. Cermak's vote. There will continue to be gangs, crime, and torrents of illegal beer in Chicago. But probably things will be better under Cermak than they would have been under Thompson. This paragraph will not undertake to solve riddles, or to explain how Chicago can be so splendid and progressive a metropolis, while its municipal rulers have been on a level so far below that of the aims and the achievements of the city as a whole.

Conditions at Home and Abroad A GREAT FALLING OFF in income tax payments, due to slack business during 1930, is a leading factor in those changed conditions which have com-

pelled Uncle Sam to borrow large sums of money to pay his current bills. After a number of years of large surplus yearly income devoted to debt reduction, the end of the fiscal year two months hence is likely to show a treasury deficit of more than half a billion dollars. The process of paying off the war debt will be checked; but the treasury can borrow all the money it needs at low rates of interest while refunding certain wartime issues. Reports from the far West indicate returning optimism regarding business and agriculture. We are publishing a "picture article" that takes Colorado as a typical Western State, and reminds us of its scenic grandeur and its varied rural and urban life and progress. Mr. John H. Perry, who is a keen observer, with exceptional information about all parts of the country, gives our readers a convincing array of facts regarding the striking signs of new activity in Florida and westward along the Gulf coasts of Alabama and Mississippi to New Orleans. It is better that Wall Street should follow rather than lead, in the slow but certain process of economic recovery. The nation moves forward, cautiously but with firm

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tread. Tariff revision has been the rule rather than the exception throughout the world, and the American changes as embodied in the Hawley-Smoot measure are less criticized as they become familiar to those engaged in foreign commerce. The proposed tariff union of Germany and Austria (see page 60) has been growing in favor as a step towards European trade freedom. The Russian invasion of world markets continues to be a topic too important to be neglected for a moment. Besides wheat, oil, and forest products, Russia begins to export cotton in sufficient quantity to deserve the attention of Texas. England continues to study the tariff and trade problems; and as these comments are written the Labor Cabinet faces a possible defeat on the issue of unemployment. Mr. Simonds writes from the Mediterranean coast on Franco-Italian conditions. For a number of years there had not been a free popular election in Spain. Dictatorships had failed, and King Alfonso permitted the people to vote without restriction on Sunday, April 12. The results were overwhelmingly in favor of a republic, and Alfonso after waiting a day duly announced his abdication of the throne on Tuesday, April 14. He acted wisely in view of all the conditions. Twenty Spanish-American republics naturally rejoiced in the creation of a republican government in the mother country.

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In France there is no serious prob-Men Must lem of unemployment, such as exists Be Allowed in England and Germany. Governto Work ments in Europe have been accustomed to deal more directly with economic conditions than have our federal and state governments in the United States. We are publishing a brief but striking statement by Mr. Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, on the responsibilities of American capital. Never before the present experience of business depression have large employers tried so generally to avoid cutting down the payrolls. We have published in recent numbers the statements of Mr. Myron Taylor on behalf of the steel industry; of Mr. Swope, president of the General Electric, and of Col. Procter of the Procter & Gamble Company, all of whom are in accord with Mr. Willard in the view that every reasonable method must be used to give people a sense of security as regards the opportunity to work and to be paid. Other articles in this number, one of them by Mr. William Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, relate to this same need of protecting men in their jobs. In no other direction has President Hoover shown greater foresight or exercised more valuable influence than in his endeavor to keep employers and employees working together in a common effort for the general good.

The President's Plans and Addresses Roosevelt and they can count upon the active support of the President for their agricultural, industrial, and educational programs. The President's call at the Virgin Islands was also timely, in view of his having established there

a model colonial government, under experts headed by Dr. Paul Pearson as our first civilian governor. Beginning on page 96 readers will find a remarkably instructive interview with Dr. Pearson, who visited our editorial offices as he was sailing for the islands. Nothing could have been more absurdly misunderstood than a reported allusion by President Hoover to the impoverished condition of the insular people. It is Mr. Hoover himself of all men who has been planning, in a constructive way, for the betterment of conditions. Within coming weeks the President will make addresses in several places, following a schedule announced some weeks ago. On April 13 he spoke before the annual convention of the Red Cross at Washington, congratulating that great relief society upon the maintenance of its essential character both in voluntary collection of funds and also in its methods of distribution. Mr. Hoover said nothing about his own controversy as regards government money for direct gifts in the drought area; but his speech was a complete vindication of his policy. April 14 was celebrated in the United States and throughout the Latin-American countries of the western hemisphere as Pan-American day. President Hoover addressed the Pan-American Union at its headquarters in Washington. In spite of some recent political and economic disturbances, our neighboring republics of the western world are moving steadily onward toward a great future.

THE MEN WHO CANNOT be spared pass Their Good on, and somehow successors are found **Deeds Live** who step forward to fill the gaps. After Them Speaker Longworth was more conspicuous than others who have recently died, but he would have said-in referring to these others-that they had been even more indispensable in their particular places. To recognize them with gratitude is a mark of our having arrived in common at certain levels of human refinement and understanding. For example, it was surprising to many people that a man whose career had been that of a football coach in one Western college should in the hour of his death have called out expressions of admiration and regard, not only from the younger generation of the student class but also from the leaders of church and state as well as of education. But Rockne was worthy of the tributes that were paid to his qualities and character. A college president in Iowa, Dr. John H. T. Main of Grinnell, was another leader, less popularly known but generally recognized in the world of education. As a young classical scholar under the famous Gildersleeve at the Johns Hopkins, Dr. Main had gone west to teach Greek on the prairies. But his was the Greek spirit of philosophy and of intellectual progress as applied to the problems of human life; and before long he found himself president of the college. His ideals were high, his will power great, and somehow he secured the means to build up his institution to a place of distinction, and to give assurance to its future. Such men as Longworth in politics and government, Knute Rockne in the field of sport and recreation, Dr. Main in that of higher education, give evidence that American life can produce leaders and can maintain standards. Let us hold them in grateful memory.

## HISTORY in the MAKING

From March 13 to April 9, 1931

#### UNITED STATES

March

- 13.. MASSACHUSETTS calls on Congress to summon a convention of states, to consider repeal or amendment of the Eighteenth Amendment. It is the first state to act, thirty-two being necessary for a constitutional con-
- 16.. THE wooden steamer Viking, locked in an icefield off Newfoundland, explodes, killing twenty and injuring many more. There were 140 aboard, on a motion picture expedition.
- 17.. THE United States Treasury is notified by its administration for veterans' affairs that at least one billion dollars will be needed to meet 50 per cent. loans on service certificates authorized by Congress.
- 18. Eighteen hundred state prisoners riot at Joliet, Illinois, burning five prison buildings and injuring three guards. Three prisoners are wounded. Guns and tear gas quell the outbreak.
- 20..Birth control is approved by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its mar-riage-and-home committee. Among the committee members are Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., George W. Wickersham, and Reverend W. M. Tippy. Twenty-seven Protestant denominations are represented.
- 24.. THE New York state senate authorizes a thorough investigation of every phase of New York City's government, and this measure also passes the state assembly. The integrity of Mayor Walker and his Tammany machine is in question. Proceedings are scheduled for May 1.

7.. Anton Cermak, Democrat, defeats "Big Bill" Thompson, Republican, by 667,529 to 475,613 in a Chicago mayoralty election. Thompson has been mayor for three four-year terms. Cermak, who takes office immediately, was born in Czechoslovakia.

### THE PRESIDENTIAL TRIP (See page 96)

March

- 18.. THE President departs on a cruise in the Caribbean Sea, for rest and to settle "certain administrative ques-tions." He will visit Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands.
- 23.. THE President lands in Porto Rico, and is acclaimed on a 90-mile motor trip across the island. He stresses economic rehabilitation in a speech at San Juan, the capital.
- 25 .. AFTER a warm reception in the Virgin Islands, next on his itinerary, the President is homeward bound. Virgin Islanders had petitioned for an end to local prohibition, and for rehabilitation funds.
- 29. THE President, tanned from his southern trip, returns to Washington.

#### ABROAD

March

- 14.. THE Prince of Wales opens a great British Empire fair at Buenos Aires, in the Argentine. In a speech broadcast to England and her doin the Argentine. minions, he calls the \$20,000,000 display a revival of British industry.
- 17..THE League of Nations economic conference, striving for an interna-tional tariff truce, confesses failure after a year of effort, the delegates adjourn.
- 18.. DENMARK adopts actual disarma-ment, converting her army into a small police force by a parliamentary vote, 77-64. Annual expenditure for police purposes will be only \$4,000,000.
- . Spain announces that it has obtained \$60,000,000 in foreign credits, chiefly from American bankers headed by J. P. Morgan. France also contributes to the loan.
- President Hindenburg invokes a constitutional dictatorship, under Article 48 of German law, to check Communist and Fascist disorders. The Reichstag has adjourned until October.
- MAHATMA GANDHI'S truce with Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, concluded on March 4, is approved by the All-Indian National Congress at Karachi. This truce ends Gandhi's suc-cessful campaign of "civil disobedience.
- Managua, capital of Nicaragua, is destroyed by a sudden earthquake. Two thousand are killed, as flames sweep the ruins. President Hoover rallies all American agencies of relief and airplanes rush medicines.

4. NICHOLAS TITULESCU becomes Rumanian premier, succeeding George Mironescu. Titulescu was president of the eleventh League of Nations Assembly, and later minister to Great Britain.

#### "AUSTRO-GERMANY" (See page 60)

- Morch 21.. THE German Government announces a preliminary trade pact with Austria, to establish complete economic unity between the two kindred na-tions. Political union is forbidden by the 1919 peace treaties.
- 22..France, Czechoslovakia, and Italy protest the Austro-German agreement as illegal.
- 25.. GREAT BRITAIN requests Germany and Austria to postpone action on their economic union until after the May session of the League of Nations Council. It would then be examined.
- GERMANY sanctions League of Nations scrutiny of the trade pact, explaining that its terms defy legal

#### DIED

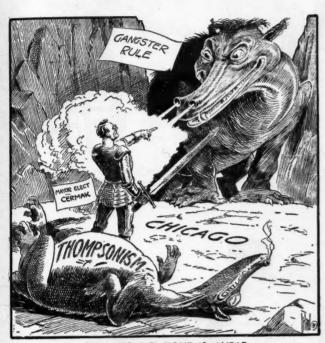
- March
  13.. Vernon Hartshorn, 58. Lord Privy Seal and member of the British Labor Cabinet. Once a coal miner. Postmaster General in 1924.
- JAMES BENJAMIN ASWELL, 61. Democratic Congressman from Louisiana for sixteen years. Southern educa-tor, interested in farm relief measures.
- 20 .. HERMANN MUELLER, 54. Twice Chancellor of republican Germany, and a Social Democrat. Journalist by Social Democrat. Journalist by profession, he signed the unpopular Versailles Treaty in 1919.
- CAPTAIN Robert Beekman Miller, 39. Hero of the Antinoe wreck in 1926, when he rescued twenty-five men from a British freighter in mid-At-lantic. Chief officer of the Roose-velt; captain of the George Wash-ington and the Republic.

REAR ADMIRAL Charles P. Plunkett, 67. Commander of naval railway batteries in France, and of the North Atlantic destroyer squadron. He later headed the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

- 26. TIMOTHY M. HEALY, 75. First Gov-ernor-General of the Irish Free State in 1922, and lifelong champion of Irish freedom. Orator and
- Arnold Bennett, 63. British novelist, called one of the "four uncles" of his country's literature. Popular in America, he was realist, painter, musician, playwright.
- 28.. Byron Bancroft Johnson, 65. Expresident of the American League in baseball, which he helped to organize. Oberlin alumnus and sports writer.
- 29..Dr. George Amos Dorsey, 63. Anthropologist, and author of "Why We Behave Like Human Beings." Ph.D., ex-curator of Chicago's Field Museum.
- 31. KNUTE ROCKNE, 43. Notre Dame football coach, America's leading gridiron figure. Killed in an airplane crash, with seven others, near Bazaar, Kansas. Born in Norway.
- DR. JOHN HANSON THOMAS MAIN, 72. President of Grinnell College, Iowa. tion. Member of the Near East Relief.
- 6. Dr. James Hosmer Penniman, 70. Historian, authority on George Washington, biographer, and Philadelphia educator.
- 7.. Dr. WILLIAM S. BAER, 58. Ortho-pedic surgeon, famed for his research in bone diseases. Born in Baltimore, identified with Johns Hopkins as student and physician.
- 9.. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH, 61. Speaker of the House of Representatives. Republican Congressman from Ohio since 1902; son-in-law of Theodore Roosevelt.

## Cartoons of the Month

Chicago's New Mayor ▼ Repeal
▼ Foreign Sidelights ▼



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CERMAK'S BIG FIGHT IS AHEAD By Ireland, in the Columbus Dispatch



ANOTHER ONE OVERBOARD!

The Illinois Legislature asks repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

By Donahey, in the Cleveland Plain Dealer



THE FARMER JOINS THE APPLE VENDOR

By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch



THE CIRCUS IS OVER
By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch



CHAIRMAN RASKOB USES A LITTLE PERSUASION
By Carlisle, in the Des Moines Register

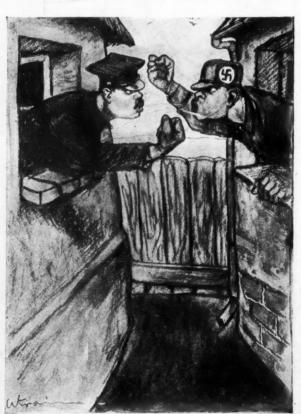


HOW IT HAPPENED IN SPAIN

A cartoon drawn shortly before the Spanish King's downfall. It shows Alfonso balanced precariously between the republican workman on the left and the monarchist soldier on the right. The first elections in eight years led the king to abandon the throne on April 14th.

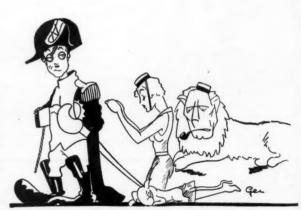
From Politica Comica (Havana, Cuba)

SPANISH POLITICS ARE STILL in a state of flux, and the eternal bickerings relative to the Polish Corridor through eastern Germany continue with unabated violence. The popular acclaim which greeted Charlie Chaplin's trip to Europe more than equalled that accorded to his friend, Dr. Albert Einstein, in America.



BEAUTIFUL PATRIOTISM

The German and Polish Fascists enjoy exchanging compliments across their disputed eastern frontier, one of Europe's chief sources of friction. From Wahre Jakob (Berlin)



CHARLIE CONQUERS BRITAIN

Napoleon failed to subdue "perfidious Albion." But the all-conquering Charlie Chaplin has invaded that island with success. Britannia renders homage. From Il 420 (Florence, Italy)



FRANCE JOINS THE BREAD-LINE

Madame France, hitherto prosperous, tightens her belt she joins the economically-distressed Britannia, Germania, Columbia, and the little Polish Miss.

From Le Rire (Paris)



AROUND THE CORNER
Will France and Jugoslavia waylay Milady Italia?
From 11 420 (Florence, Italy)



ALBERT CONQUERS AMERICA
Professor Einstein is acclaimed in sunny Hollywood.
From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)



THE CAPONE MOTIF IN BRITAIN: STANLEY BALDWIN ON THE SPOT
"Cigar-Face" Winston Churchill machine-guns the former Premier, after their disagreement on the Indian issue.

From the Evening Times (Glasgow, Scotland)

From Wahre Jakob (Berlin)



DEMOCRACY FREES POLAND (1918)



DEMOCRACY IS REWARDED (1931)



The old Carroll
Mansion, a feature of the campus of Johns
Hopkins University, in the suburb
of Baltimore
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## Research in Law and Justice

By ALBERT SHAW

Johns Hopkins University has established a new department that carries the Hopkins tradition and method of research into unexplored fields of law, and of justice in our civil and criminal courts

THE OBJECT of the present article is to awaken interest in a new form of service for which the need relates directly to

every man, woman and child in the United States. To write about an "Institute of Law" seems hardly a timely thing, because the term itself suggests abstract and philosophical ideas at a moment when there is such a welter of news to be discussed. Why not write again, as in recent numbers of this periodical, about the Baumes Laws in New York; prison riots in view of the recent outbreak at Joliet; "gangs and crime" as suggested by the municipal election in Chicago; magistrates' courts and police scandals in New York City; or the rivalry of several western states in competing for divorce business, as a profitable kind of interstate commerce? Or what about prohibition enforcement?

Why not write about the difficulties that confront the ordinary person who needs sound advice in his affairs, or gets himself involved in the frightful delays and costs of our so-called system of justice? These, indeed, are real questions of the day and of the hour. But it is precisely these things with which our "Institute of Law" happens to be concerned.

With so many more people busy in so many new ways, it has seemed necessary to have ever-multiplying rules and regulations. From the beginning we have been piling up laws-new ones on the top of old ones. In order to have the laws enforced it has also seemed imperative to supply all sorts of tribunals-from Justices of the Peace to the Supreme Court of the United States. Everyone knows that the laws should be a good deal overhauled. But the judges know that the court system itself needs rebuilding from top to bottom. It is admitted freely that what we call the "administration of justice"—that is to say, the way of doing business in the courts-is in a lamentable state. The courts ought to be made a safe and welcome refuge. And they ought to deal promptly with all those who prey upon women and children, or who rob and injure honest men.

The Institute of Law about which we propose to write is not a law school, nor is it an association of

members of the bar. But it will work constantly with law schools, and with bar associations. Most of all, it will, presumably, work with judges of higher and lower degree, helping them to get the business of the courts on a simpler and better basis. Moreover, in due time, it will also work with state legislatures and committees of Congress, in the endeavor to revise the hundreds of thousands of rules and regulations under which we carry on our American life. Our laws should be better fitted to our habits and customs. They should be less tangled, more uniform throughout the states, more easy to obey, to administer, and to enforce.

This particular Institute finds itself a department in the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore. Its business is that of research and investigation. It takes the field of law for its inquiries, just as another part of the university works in the field of preventive medicine and public health, while another makes unending researches in chemical science, another works in physics, still another in biology, and another-slightly more "practical"-in engineering. Our Institute of Law is quite as practical as the Engineering School, or the Public Health School, in all the things that it aspires to accomplish. But its tools are those of experimental science. It can report progress and actual results in particular inquiries; but it will take up new ones, so that its researches as a whole must be continuous, like human society itself.

An agency that deals in economic facts and figures reported the other day that the wealth of the United States is approaching four hundred billion dollars, with the average per capita about \$3,000. For certain purposes of comparison such calculations have their usefulness. But if by some kind of fabled oriental magic these billions could be converted into actual dollars, and equally distributed among our millions of men, women and children, the dollars might indeed remain but the wealth would as certainly have vanished. You

might as well distribute the wealth of the Western Union Telegraph Company by giving some coils of wire or old poles to each stockholder.

Resources brought into human service; ideas worked out patiently until they result in economic conquests of industry, transportation, and commerce—these things afford cumulative results that must be kept in use by the associated energies of intelligent and willing men and women, if they are not to lose their value. Wealth is an attribute of common activities. It cannot be detached, divided up, or separated from the functioning of economic society. Above all, it cannot be expanded and made serviceable except under normal conditions of freedom, law, justice and order. We have now learned that we can well afford to support the most recondite processes of research in bacteriology or biochemistry. More new things are always awaiting discovery that have relation to the health and physical welfare of individuals and communities. Infinite patience is required, and tangible results cannot be hastened. Private resources and voluntary effort have seemed to take the lead, but public support for research in these scientific fields may henceforth be relied upon.

As applied to industry, scientific research has given us benefits in a hundred directions that are hardly yet appreciated. Metallurgic improvements, electric light and power, the new telephone services, universal telegraphy, the radio—these things alone, if social value could be expressed in terms of dollars, are worth more than the figures of total national wealth given out by the

Economic Board.

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But there is an underlying basis of all our wealth that is seldom spoken of because it is taken for granted. We refer to the administration of justice and the main-

tenance of political and social order. Let lawlessness, anarchy, gang violence, mob terrorism prevail; what becomes of wealth, of health, of normal life? Or suppose the extremes of corruption and inefficiency in courts of justice? Certainly we are dependent, for the normal course of our affairs, upon confidence in our structure



DANIEL WILLARD
As head of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Mr. Willard is an honored citizen of Baltimore. He became a trustee of Johns Hopkins in 1914 and president of the board in 1926.

NEWTON D. BAKER
The former Cleveland
mayor and Secretary of
War is a graduate and
trustee of the University,
and chairman of the advisory board of the Law
Institute's Ohio study.

JOSEPH S. AMES

President of the Johns Hopkins University. His entire career has been spent in the University—as student, instructor, professor, director of the Physical Laboratory, and president since 1929.

@ Harris & Ewing

ALBERT C. RITCHIE
Governor of Maryland and
member of the National
Advisory Committee of the
Institute of Law. He asked
the Institute to undertake
a study of the Maryland
judicial machine.



of law and in the administration of justice.

We are perfecting our mechanism for vital statistics, and the officers of any great insurance company could demonstrate the need for all the facts and figures relating to the death rate; the birth rate; loss of working time through illness; ravages of particular forms of disease; and many

other matters of information resting upon exhaustive and accurate statistical effort. Dr. Dublin showed us the other day that it costs more than \$10,000 to bring a boy or girl to the productive age of eighteen. Such varied knowledge of human life as that in which men like Dr. Dublin deal lacks full value unless it be procured by continuing methods. A spasmodic survey now and then will not suffice. We will not, in any appreciable future, have outlived the need of the careful and unceasing collection and use of this kind of information.

That "knowledge is power" is an ancient saying familiar to every schoolboy. Yet nothing is harder than to make people at large accept that dictum in its full meaning. The future of this country is bound up in the further search for knowledge that may in due time be usefully applied. Industrial leaders have come to understand this fact, especially since the great war. The medical profession has gradually accepted the truth that science must supersede empiricism, since a little group of innovators almost fifty years ago began their work of research in a modest way at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. Thus certain forms of research—for industry, for health—although yet to be developed on a far greater scale, are now secure enough in their acceptance and their intelligent support.

But mark the analogy. There is another immense, almost unworked, field for research in which results of inestimable value may certainly be gained. This, in its broader bearing, is the field of government. In more immediate and concrete terms we may call it the field of law and of the administration of justice. Our law-making and rule-making bodies—for the most part not expertly competent—are yearly turning out laws and

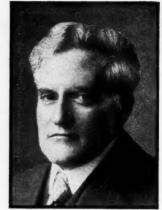
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CARROLL T. BOND
Chief Judge of the Maryland
Court of Appeals



CARRINGTON T. MARSHALL
Chief Justice of the Ohio
Supreme Court



BENJAMIN N. CARDOZO Chief Justice of the New York State Court of Appeals

These judges are members of the national advisory committee of the Institute of Law. In Maryland and Ohio the Institute is conducting studies by request of the Judicial Council of each state.

ordinances by the tens of thousands. Our courts of justice throughout the United States are dealing, literally, with millions of cases arising under the laws, through litigation among citizens in civil disputes, besides other millions of cases that arise under laws against crimes and misdemeanors.

How well do these thousands upon thousands of laws fit the conditions under which Americans now live and work? What does anybody know about the millions of civil and criminal cases that are dealt with in our courts of justice? There are no analytical statistics. facts have we about judges of the higher and lower courts, their relations to one another in a judicial system, and the rules under which they deal with lawyers and litigants? Outside of members of the legal profession and a few politicians, how many citizens of New York know anything about the Magistrates' Courts, which exercise terrifying authority (in conjunction with the police force) over people accused of misconduct? On what principles does the Mayor appoint Magistrates? Why, when one stops to think about it, should the Mayor of a municipal corporation be empowered to select Magistrates, at the behest of obscure political leaders in assembly districts?

At the present time some of the New York City Magistrates are under accusation. While most of them are free from all suspicion, the system itself is so bad that it could hardly be worse. What citizen can explain why some judges are nominated by political parties and elected by the voters, others named by the Mayor, and still others appointed by the Governor? Why, in New York, is the Supreme Court below, the Court of Appeals far above, and the Appellate Division somewhere in between? With the Federal courts of New York handling prohibition cases and various other matters, what plain citizen can find his way in and out of all this tangle of courts and jurisdictions?

Here is to be seen the paradise of the shyster lawyer. But, also, here are Bar Associations led by as high-minded members of the profession as could be found anywhere in the world. We find judges of the highest character—great jurists and legal thinkers like Judge Cardozo—and also we find an exceptional rogue—a corrupt lawyer who has bought his place from some grafting politician—a trafficker in jobs, who blackmails bootleggers and other offenders, through his police helpers.

New York is now at a sensational point in one of its widely spaced, periodic cycles of exposure and reform in these affairs of local administration. Are such things inevitable, and is there no permanent progress, no solid ground to be gained? Answer may be made without much hesitation. First, these scandalous conditions are not inevitable. Second, with all the wrongdoing that has come to light and that may yet be shown under Judge Seabury's investigations, the basic situation is far better than in former times. Third, the pending exposures are worth while, the efforts of reform bodies are commendable, and there will be immediate results, beneficial to ten million men, women and children.

But, while this is true, some fundamental work has now to be done of a less spectacular nature. After many years of effort, New York State succeeded in rearranging the executive functions, so that the affairs of the state are centered in the office of the Governor. This had been made necessary by growth and change through a century of patchwork legislation. In a hundred ways the business of the state will be better carried on because the machinery is so much improved. In like manner, the administrative business of the municipal corporation needs to be overhauled and a new system adopted. Hundreds of towns and cities throughout the country have improved their conditions to an astonishing extent by adopting the City Manager plan, and putting faith and enthusiasm behind its operation.

If the State of New York could carry out the great project of consolidating and rearranging its scores of executive boards, departments and commissions, it can also, if it will, rearrange its system of law courts. It can create a judicial council, within the body of judges, to bring the whole system of justice under control and to eliminate it from politics. In point of fact, a movement of this kind in New York is on foot, although it has not yet had its share of public attention.

In a quiet and unostentatious way the new Institute of Law at Baltimore is in touch with the various agencies for judicial reform and improvement throughout the country. Already it begins to act as a clearing house of information. It can bring the experience of one state to the aid of revision and reform in another. While the scandals in certain of the New York courts are to be deplored, their exposure will doubtless help to bring fundamental reforms. Something like a cataclysm is needed to deliver the administration of justice in New York City from the assaults of the political grafters. There are eight or ten sets of courts with an army of judges and a number of chief justices; and how

they fit together is what few citizens can explain except lawyers—some of whom find their stock in trade in such tangles of jurisdiction.

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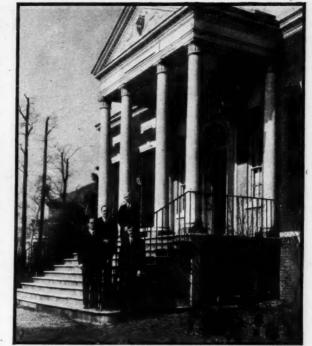
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As this article is written, one of the higher tribunals (the Appellate Division) is investigating the working of the Magistrates' Courts in the Borough of Manhattan, while Governor Roosevelt has used his authority to deal with charges against a certain justice of the Supreme Court. Scandals pertaining to the administration of justice have been so involved with charges of misconduct in various departments of the city government that the Legislature has decided upon a general investigation. Former Judge Samuel Seabury is in charge of several closely intertwined efforts to expose official wrongdoing. These subjects in general—and scandalous incidents in particular—have filled many hundreds of columns in the great newspapers of New York City.

It is worth while that public indifference to these things should be overcome. The murder of a witness or the "framing" of an innocent woman secures the attention of millions of readers, and strengthens the agitation against corruption in official places. But the wave of moral indignation will subside; and then, what of the years to come? Here the answer is at hand, although it has not yet reached the consciousness of the intelligent citizens of New York. The Legislature has, in the present session, authorized a commission of sixteen to study the administration of justice within the state and the city. The Legislature has appropriated a sufficient fund to make it certain that the commission can work effectively. Governor Roosevelt has taken the lead, and the movement has the support of the foremost authorities of the state, with Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo as its most eminent sponsor. From the beginning, Judge Cardozo has been a member of the Advisory Committee of the Institute of Law at Baltimore, and so also has Governor Roosevelt. The Institute itself is conducting a survey of litigation in New York City, this being one of the most formidable inquiries ever undertaken in all the history of human relationships. We should be inclined to rank it with the early explorations of Livingstone and Stanley in "Darkest Africa."

It is fairly probable that this season's activities at Albany will later result in the formation of a permanent Judicial Council. In the long run such a Council will do more for the people of New York City than all the current investigations of scandal and misdoing. But it is when something startling happens down the long lane that there comes the turning; and the flare-up of these scandals in New York will have helped men like Judge Cardozo to begin the orderly and permanent work of reconstruction.



ORIGINATING FACULTY OF THE INSTITUTE OF LAW

On the steps of the Carroll Mansion, which may be used by the
Institute pending the erection of a permanent building. Their,
names are given under the photograph on page 41.

But what is a Judicial Council? The writer of this article would have known almost nothing by way of answering this question, if he had not gone to the Institute of Law at Baltimore to find out. It is part of the work of that Institute to act as a clearing house of information on subjects of this kind, and to invite and promote coöperation, while carrying on particular investigations of its own. The Judicial Council of a state is a permanent group authorized by the Legislature, made up as a rule of judges selected from the courts of different rank, together with certain members of the bar or experts in law schools or universities. Its object is to study the whole course of activity in the courts of the state, with a view to making things more orderly and efficient.

In some states the Legislatures have turned over to these Judicial Councils full authority to simplify and change the rules of procedure in the actual handling of cases. While the Judicial Council is itself made up of active lawyers and judges, Judge Cardozo has observed

that each Council of this kind should be aided by a group of experts continually studying situations, and making reports and proposals for the improvement of laws or of methods. Already the Institute of Law at the Johns Hopkins University is coördinating its current work with that of several state Judicial Councils, and it is prepared to maintain useful contacts with them all.

Twenty states have set up these Judicial Councils, and bills pending in Legislatures will doubtless have added to the number during the present year. The American Bar Association and the American Judi-



DESIGN OF A PROPOSED BUILDING FOR THE INSTITUTE OF LAW
In architectural harmony with other new buildings of the Johns Hopkins University at
Homewood, in the suburbs of Baltimore.

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THE FOUR DOCTORS—A PAINTING BY SARGENT
The Johns Hopkins Medical School, established in 1893, attracted
these four distinguished men as members of its original faculty.
Left to right are: Dr. William H. Welch, pathologist; the late Dr.
William S. Halsted, surgeon-in-chief; the late Sir William Osler,
physician-in-chief; and Dr. Howard A. Kelly, gynecologist.

### Dr. Welch pays a tribute:

As one actively interested for nearly half a century in the preservation and development of those ideals of scientific research upon which the Johns Hopkins University was founded, I welcome the establishment of the Institute of Law. In subject matter and methods of investigation there may be little analogy between the law and the sciences of nature, including biology and medicine. But the problems presented are of the utmost human interest and importance, and may be approached with the same scientific spirit, the same unbiased, objective mental attitude, the same desire to attain the truth, and the same joy in the search for truth.

cature Society are typical organizations that encourage all new and promising forms of research, and that welcome the formation of Judicial Councils. But these bodies do not furnish the permanent facilities of a central clearing house for information. Much less can they be expected to exercise the continuing functions of research laboratories. The great law schools can be of service, for they have a willing spirit and many trained specialists. But even as the courts have to carry on their pressing business, and the members of the bar have to serve their clients, so the law schools have absorbing duties of their own. Primarily, they cannot think of themselves as research laboratories.

The Judicial Councils of Ohio and Maryland are finding it to their advantage to work officially with the Institute of Law at Baltimore. The Ohio Council was instituted by act of the Legislature eight years ago, and it has gradually felt its way toward services of the most impressive character. In its report issued early in the present year, is the following statement: "The Judicial Council regards itself as fortunate in that it has

succeeded in arranging with the Institute of Law of the Johns Hopkins University for a three-year study of judicial administration in Ohio. This study is being made by the Institute of Law under the auspices of the Judicial Council and with the cooperation of a committee of the Ohio State Bar Association."

This Ohio Council includes the Chief Justice, Carrington T. Marshall, and two associate judges of the Supreme Court, Robert H. Day and Florence E. Allen. Phil M. Crow represents the Court of Appeals, Frank M. Clevenger is selected from the judges of the Common Pleas Courts, John P. Dempsey is Chief Justice of the Municipal Court of the City of Cleveland. To these six judicial members of the council are added three practising lawyers-Harry F. Payer of Cleveland, Alfred Bettman of Cincinnati, and George B. Harris of Cleveland-to make a total of nine members. A full account of what this Ohio Council is undertaking to do. and of the methods that it is employing in inquiries never attempted before, would require a small volume with a series of technical supplements. Let it be said that it has set out upon a long course of inquiries, with firm purpose and full confidence.

In Ohio alone there are about half a million cases before the local and lower courts every year, and a hundred thousand cases before the higher courts. Using round figures, there are sixty thousand civil cases, twenty-five thousand criminal cases, and twenty thousand divorce cases, in the sphere above the half million cases that are dealt with by tribunals of minor jurisdiction. The Judicial Council has prepared data sheets in order to analyze cases of different kinds and in different stages of litigation. These are far more extensive and thorough-going than the inquiries made on the sheets of the Federal Census Bureau. Results will be worked out on electrical tabulating machines. This constitutes one major project of inquiry. Another one, that the Institute of Law has under way and well ad-



A DIVORCE MAP OF OHIO

Why have some counties five and even ten times as many divorce cases per thousand of population, as others? A three-year study of judicial administration in Ohio, under the direction of the Institute of Law, will yield an answer.

vanced, comes under the head of Judicial Statistics. Still another has to do with expenditures for the administration of justice, and another deals with the relation of State and Federal Courts.

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A very extended study, for which exhaustive data sheets have been issued, relates to the divorce problem and divorce litigation. This typical study suggests a topic for future discussion; and we may only refer to it as illustrating the kind of work to be done in the field of legal research. But if interested readers could see

Council: "Practically no organization or system exists. Each court—almost each judge—is independent of the others. This great army of judges, properly organized and supervised, could conduct the litigation for 20,-000,000 people. But as things are, delays are frequent and long." But the report proceeds to declare that "there is a remedy"; and points to the courts of Cuyahoga County, as an example of what can be done through organization. The great city of Cleveland, it should be said, is in Cuyahoga County; and Judge



THE FOUR MEMBERS OF THE ORIGINAL FACULTY AT THE INSTITUTE OF LAW

From left to right around the table are: Walter Wheeler Cook, former professor of law at Yale University; Hessel Edward Yntema, former professor of Roman law and comparative jurisprudence at Columbia University; Leon Carroll Marshall, former director of economics and business at the University of Chicago; and Herman Oliphant, former professor of law at Columbia University.

the blue sheets, the white sheets, and the yellow sheets, with their hundreds of inquiries to be answered on the dotted lines relating to divorce cases in the counties of Ohio, they would at least form some idea of the manner in which scientific processes of research may be brought to bear in totally unexplored fields. How does it happen, for instance, that with the same laws prevailing, there should be ten times as many divorces for every thousand people in some counties of Ohio as there are in some other counties?

This Judicial Council of Ohio, after studying the subject carefully, advises the Legislature to turn over to a small commission of lawyers and judges the full power to make rules of practice and procedure in civil cases in all courts and tribunals from the highest to the lowest, with a view to simplifying and expediting business. Undoubtedly the Legislature will follow such good advice. The council states that "the Legislatures of Colorado, Virginia, Connecticut, Delaware and Washington have given to the judiciary broad rule-making powers in matters of practice and procedure, and the Legislatures of New Jersey, Alabama, Michigan, North Dakota, and Vermont have enacted laws giving the judiciary restricted powers of making such rules."

These Ohio authorities are working on such problems as that of improving the methods of appealing cases from a lower to a higher court. They are vigorously supporting the movement for uniform laws among the states, relating to a great number of matters, many of them of a commercial kind. They are expediting business in the courts, but they declare quite frankly that the army of several hundred judges in the state if systematically directed from the top could accomplishtwice as much business as is now done.

Let us quote from this recent report of Ohio's Judicial

Homer G. Powell has been Chief Justice of the county courts since 1923. For the past seven or eight years, eighteen judges have done the work in that county, twelve of them locally elected, and six assigned by Chief Justice Marshall. From less than fourteen thousand cases filed in 1922, the yearly total now exceeds twenty-two thousand, and the same judges handle all these cases promptly.

The number of cases disposed of by each judge has increased seventy per cent., and the cost per case has been reduced from almost forty dollars to a little more than twenty dollars. "All this has been accomplished under an organization head with little real authority. If the entire judicial system of the State were reorganized under a Chief Justice with full authority the results would be astounding." We are quoting the deliberate opinion of Ohio's Judicial Council, most of the members of which are themselves judges of different ranks. If such a statement can be made as regards Ohio, it could be made with still more truth if applied to New York, and doubtless to other States.

Last year Governor Ritchie and the Judicial Council of Maryland invited the Institute of Law of the Johns Hopkins University to undertake a comprehensive study of the judicial system of that state. The Maryland Council includes six judges and three attorneys. Its present members are: Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond, of the Court of Appeals; T. Scott Offutt, Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals; Chief Judge Samuel K. Dennis, of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City; Albert S. J. Owens, Associate Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City; Circuit Judges Thomas J. Keating and A. A. Doub; and attorneys Emory H. Niles, W. Mason Shehan, and Ridgely P. Melvin.

Chief Justice Bond is president of the Council, and

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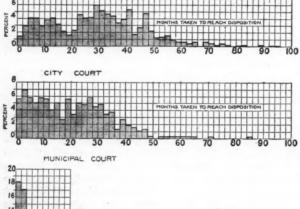
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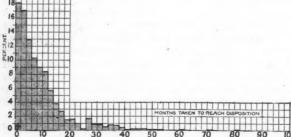
will be associated with the Institute in directing the study. The Bar Associations of the State and of Baltimore are assisting, and experts in the Maryland University Law School and others throughout the state are helping in one way or another. The Maryland Judicial Council is similar in composition to the Ohio Council as heretofore described. Inquiries already laid out look to kinds of inquiry that will extend through several years. A permanent system of judicial statistics will be established, of a kind not existent heretofore even in the most limited sense. In many ways the Maryland studies will be associated with those under way in Ohio.

Before passing, however, from this interesting movement for Judicial Councils, let us anticipate a question that will occur to some of our readers, by naming the twenty states that had established such Councils prior to the present year. In alphabetical order they are as follows: California, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Carolina, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

In organizing the Institute of Law, deference has been shown to the traditions of the Johns Hopkins University. Directing minds are deemed more important than buildings or endowments, although equipment is necessary and financial support must be duly sought. The University was opened fifty-five years ago under the presidency of Daniel C. Gilman. Scientific research was set on foot under such leaders as Roland, the physicist; Martin, biologist; Sylvester, mathematician; Remsen, chemist; Williams, geologist; Newcomb, astronomer. Herbert Adams and Richard T. Ely initiated certain movements in economic, historical, and political study that have had nationwide expansion and results.

SUPREME COURT





THE LAW'S DELAY IN NEW YORK CITY

The average duration of cases in the Supreme Court, during a vear's study of 928 of them, was found to be 30 months. In the City Court the average duration of 378 cases was 21 months. In the Municipal Court the average of 221 cases was 10 months. Duration here means the period from the time a case comes into the lawyer's office until it is finally disposed of by collection of judgment or otherwise. The cases selected were fairly typical and not extremes.

Thirty-eight years ago the Johns Hopkins Medical School was established with new standards and with new methods. Its early leaders, who afterwards attained great eminence, were the late Sir William Osler, Dr. William S. Halsted, Dr. Howard A. Kelly, and Dr. William H. Welch, who is still active at Baltimore and whose career is a part of the history of human progress in our age. From that center of medical research, trained leaders have passed to other institutions.

The Institute of Law will have to earn a popular recognition that can come only when certain findings are applied to the practical business of dispensing justice. That such appreciation will be given there can be little doubt. Meanwhile, men of high training in various walks of life can understand and can be of help, because they know something of the nature and the instruments of modern progress. They know that we are well past the period when invention is accidental and the discoveries of science are merely blundered upon. In the field of law, abstract thinking on the part of metaphysical minds is not so much needed as conclusions deduced from extended statistical inquiries.

President Ames of the Johns Hopkins is an eminent physicist, and for that very reason he can understand the need of research in the affairs of human society. Daniel Willard, President of the Board of Trustees, as head of a great railway system has had long experience that has made him believe that "a comprehensive and scientific study of the law and its effect upon the welfare and happiness of mankind now presents an opportunity comparable if not equal to the opportunity that led to the creation of the medical school.' The Institute enjoys the prestige of a national advisory committee of about fifty men, whose expressions have shown more than a merely nominal and complimentary approval. No endorsement, for instance, could be more wise and discriminating than that of Chief Justice Hughes. Mr. Elihu Root, noting the rapid changes under which men live, that are putting a strain on the exercise of the law-making power, realizes that the work of this Institute of Law lies at the heart of "difficult questions of popular self-government."

The Institute begins with an originating faculty of four research professors who have proceeded to associate with themselves assistants as needed in various projects of study. Walter Wheeler Cook, with degrees from Columbia, Yale, and Wisconsin universities, became in turn professor of law at the universities of Nebraska, Missouri, Wisconsin, Chicago, Yale, Columbia, and again at Yale. Thirty years of experience in the teaching of law preceded his engagement in this new work at Baltimore two years ago. Leon Carroll Marshall, with degrees from Ohio Wesleyan and Harvard, became a professor of economics at Ohio Wesleyan in 1903, and four years later joined the faculty of the University of Chicago. He remained there until 1928, becoming Director of Economics and Business. He is a statistician and an economic investigator, but not a lawyer. Herman Oliphant, graduating at Indiana University, became later a law professor in the University of Chicago, and for eight years before going to Baltimore was professor of law at Columbia University in New York. Hessel Edward Yntema went to Baltimore from Columbia University, where for some years he had been a professor of Roman law and comparative jurisprudence. He had earned degrees in several American institutions including Michigan and Harvard, and also at Oxford University.

These four men were not selected as originators of the Institute of Law at Baltimore by reason of previous

academic honors, but because in addition to their careers as scholars and teachers they had the courage and the initiative to begin explorations in a relatively new field. They belong to the class of men who achieve things because they have enthusiasm as well as ability, with too much interest in the work they are doing to take themselves importantly. The Institute of Law does not as yet loom up in a visible way at Baltimore. Like faith, its substance is chiefly in the realm of things discerned by the mind and spirit. It will not fail to serve the country, but its service

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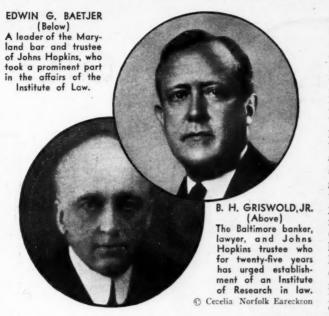
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can be greatly extended and broadened if—along with sympathy and understanding—there should come an abundance of material support.

Let us say again that we would not minimize the value of the reform agitations that affect public sentiment and secure mass action, as illustrated by pending investigations in New York City. But the larger field of law and justice will be touched only in casual and indirect ways by the exposure of certain scandalous conditions. The vast majority of our several thousand American judges of higher and lower degree are conscientious and capable men. As individuals, they have to deal with situations that they cannot change. A large proportion of them are working under systems that have altered only slightly, if at all, for half a century or even a longer time.

With our population multiplied, litigation has increased probably in still greater ratio; and we have found no modern method of dispensing justice. But no one is competent to guide us to quick results. Constructive reform must be based upon exhaustive study. Professor Oliphant of the Johns Hopkins Institute of Law is engaged in certain researches in New York City. Even if he were able, without research, to present a plan on paper for the reorganization of all the courts, and for total changes of procedure, with provision for the disposal of most civil disputes without lawsuits-in short, for the arrangements that would be in keeping with our life of the twentieth century-he could secure for his plan only scanty attention from the press, and it would meet with the silent hostility of the bar. There are about 21,000 lawyers in the metropolis, and it would not be easy to win their support for changes that might put half of them out of business.

As a necessary preliminary, Dr. Oliphant has been



studying judicial proceedings and conditions in some of the New York courts. We are publishing in diagram form certain facts that illustrate his methods of inquiry. He finds, for instance, that cases in the Supreme Court are brought to conclusion only after an average delay of two and a half years. A small group of the worst cases that were disposed of last year had been running for more than ten years. Cases in the City Court had averaged somewhat less than two years in duration, and in the Municipal Court the average last year was ten months. This means, of course,

that many cases were pending for a much longer time. It would, perhaps, be within bounds to say that Professor Oliphant and his colleagues have in view further inquiries in this New York field so extensive as to make

what has been done seem but a beginning.

These methods of research have a future far beyond the pending inquiries into the working of our present machinery of justice. The Wickersham Commission has set on foot certain inquiries in the field of criminal laws and their enforcement. Their preliminary report indicated serious effort to obtain information on federal prohibition; but the Institute of Law could show that we have had nowhere, as yet, a thorough study of the actual operation of laws regulating the manufacture and sale of intoxicants. The results of the Ohio study of divorce cases must lead to the study of divorce laws.

There has never been more than the crude beginnings of an attempt to study in a scientific way the activities of the federal and state governments in relation to railroads, or public utilities. Behind the Institute of Law at Baltimore there are conceptions as definite and as far reaching as those that have inspired research in other departments of human life, with transforming consequences. It is a notable fact that members of the board of trustees of the Johns Hopkins University, through their wide experience in business life took the lead in establishing this unique agency of social service. It was natural enough that the project should be most readily understood, and most confidently endorsed by leaders of the bench and bar. But as definite results are reached from time to time in the course of particular investigations; the value of these inquiries in the great field of law and justice will become obvious to a wide public that is no longer skeptical about medical research or progress through scientific laboratory work.

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Ten years ago this magazine published an article under the title "The Oil Famine and the Remedy." It was written by the late David T. Day, consulting chemist for the Bureau of Mines and petroleum expert for the United States Geological Survey. Dr. Day opened his article with this statement:

"There is an impending shortage of gasoline."

He was expressing the prevailing opinion of eminent authorities. In that year, 1921, the United States produced 472,000,000 barrels of crude oil, from which gasoline is distilled. It was the largest yield ever known. There were ten million automobiles burning up gasoline in that year, three times as many as there had been five years earlier; and there was every reason to believe that their numbers would continue to grow.

Dr. Day was properly worried. He went on to specify: "The industry is coming to the end of the substances which can be drawn upon to extend the gasoline supply. . . . A decline in the production of petroleum in the United States is only a matter of months." Dr. Day's remedy for the impending oil famine was the boiling-down of certain mountain areas in Colorado and

Utah, storage houses of shale oil.

But the petroleum industry found other ways to meet the situation. It drilled wells in new fields. It drilled deeper wells. It squeezed more gasoline out of every gallon of crude. Indeed, in the next eight years the industry turned famine into plenty. A shortage of gasoline? Hardly. The refineries produced 123 million barrels of gasoline in 1921, 180 million in 1923, 260 million in 1925, 330 million in 1927, 435 million in 1929, and 436 million in 1930. The year 1930 witnessed a halt, resulting from the influence of a combination of forces: a lesser increase in gasoline demand, an added supply

# OIL: A Story

THE DEEPEST WELL
(Left)

Approaching 10,000 feet when the picture was taken. In the Signal Hill district, California.

AN OKLAHOMA GUSHER (Right) Before the oil and gas were brought under control. A scene at Oklahoma City. Photo by Galloway

from foreign sources, and a slight liquidation of stocks. Now the problem of the petroleum industry is not impending famine but actual surplus.

Suppose the experts of 1921 had been right. Would our 10,000,000 automobiles traveling over the roads in 1921 have become 27,000,-000 in 1930? Presumably not, though it is conceivable that many of us would be driving electric storage-battery cars.

The rubber-tire industry, the steel industry, the plate-glass industry, and scores of others including the railroads, would never have known the era of prosperity that culminated in 1929. If the reader wants support of such an assertion, he will find that the making of automobiles is our second

largest industry in the value of products manufactured, with petroleum refining fifth. In addition, a notable share of the products of our steel mills—the third industry in value—go into the making of automobiles.

Does the credit for these things, for the whole gamut which led to that era of national prosperity, belong to the petroleum industry or to the automobile industry? It is like the familiar rivalry for priority between the hen and the egg.

The geologist and the chemist, the prospector and the big business man, may all take a bow and feel secure in the belief that in furnishing gasoline to avert an impending famine they were giving the most effective



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# of Achievement

### By HOWARD FLORANCE

impetus to a nation headed for unparalleled prosperity and a higher standard of human welfare.

For a quarter century after Edwin L. Drake struck oil in Pennsylvania, in 1859, the Appalachian region remained our only source of supply and quite a limited one. In 1886 the Lima-Indiana field was opened, reaching its maximum thirty years later and declining steadily ever since. In 1905 a third eastern field was discovered in Illinois and southwestern Indiana, reaching its maximum in five years. These original areas furnish

about one-twentieth of our present supply of crude oil.

The Mid-Continent district (Oklahoma and parts of Texas, Louisi-Arkansas, and Kansas) and the nearby Gulf Coast district began to produce small quantities of oil in the '90s. They came into prominence after the turn of the century, with the discovery of major pools. The Cushing pool in Oklahoma, as an example, reached a maximum yield of 331,000 barrels a day in 1915. This was mass production, for that one pool was then yielding as much oil as all the wells of the entire United States had produced daily in 1904.

California as recently as 1902 showed the first

OIL AMONG ORANGES California combination. Note the derricks housed to ONCE A PATENT medicine, then the illuminant of the world's lamps, now the fuel of twenty-seven million automobiles. It heats houses, propels ships. and lubricates the entire machinery of our industrial civilization.

indication that it ever might become an important oil state, with 13 million barrels that year. By 1905 the output had grown to 33 million barrels, with 73 million in 1910, 100 million in 1919, 262 million in 1923, 292 million in 1929, and 228 million in 1930.

These were the oil-producing areas of the United States in Dr. Day's time, and there have been no important districts added since then. Yet each field is constantly spreading out and new pools are discovered, like those in the Kettleman Hills of southern California and in the suburbs of Oklahoma City. Twentyfive thousand wells have been drilled each year in the United States since that period of impending famine.

Much has been heard of foreign fields. Now they are a menace, but in our picture of conditions as they were ten years ago they formed a helpful source of supply. In 1919 we had imported 52 million barrels of crude oil. In the subsequent days of famine fear, 1920-22, we fought for a share of foreign oil and our imports more than doubled, exceeding 120 million barrels yearly. Less crude oil has come in during recent years, but American-owned refineries abroad (notably in the Dutch West Indies, adjacent to the coast of Venezuela, their source of crude supply) have resulted in a six-fold increase in our imports of refined products, making this country a larger importer of petroleum and its products than ever before.

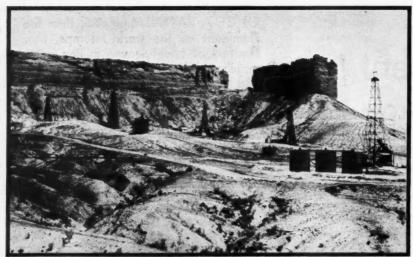
Venezuela, where the oil industry is only fourteen years old, ranks second among oil-producing nations, with a yield of 137 million barrels of crude in each of the last two years. That is almost a tenth of the entire world supply. As recently as 1924-26 its annual production was only 57 million barrels. Russia, in 1930, under its famous Five Year Plan, ran Venezuela a close race for second place, with 135 million barrels. There had been only 99 million barrels of Russian crude oil in 1929, and 62 million in 1913, the last year before the War. Persia in 1930 was a poor fourth, with Rumania, the Dutch East Indies, and Mexico trailing along and each furnishing from 2 to 3 per cent. of the world's supply. Mexico is a dwindling source of supply.

Last year the United States, with curtailment provisions in effect, produced 63 per cent. of all petroleum. More than 898,000,000 barrels were brought to the sur-

face. In 1929 there were 1,007,000,000 barrels, or almost 68 per cent. of the Roughly world supply. speaking, the remainder of the world furnishes half as much petroleum as the United States.

Curtailment of crude oil production in the United States is in effect. Otherwise it is estimated that 1.5 billion barrels could be produced in twelve months, on the basis of our estimated potential, or a volume slightly





IN THE SALT CREEK FIELD OF WYOMING

Not all oil fields are cluttered with forests of derricks, that indicate highly competitive drilling. Here the drilling is at the foot of the Shannon sand escarpment in Wyoming, the seventh state in production of petroleum.

in excess of the total production of the world at its peak (1,484,000,000 barrels) in the year 1929.

Our petroleum industry has thus plainly demonstrated, in this past decade, that it was able to find oil when and where it was needed most.

FIRST LESSON in Greek is taught, not in high school or college, but in the Sunday school. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." The fisherman of Galilee all his life had been called Simon, son of Jonas. Petra, meaning rock, and oleum, meaning oil, plainly convey the idea that petroleum is rock oil. It is found in association always with what the geologist calls sedimentary rock. In some unexplained fashion these sedimentary rocks through the ages have generated huge reservoirs of oil far below the earth's crust, by chemical or physical reactions. Somewhat illogically, petroleum is not found in these sedimentary rocks but under them. It has journeyed from its birthplace. It is, indeed, a wanderer to the end; for you may sink a shaft on your property and drain your neighbor's oil as readily

as you may recover your own.

Invert a pile of saucers and imagine that each is of a different substance. The uppermost one represents the earth's surface, the others are various kinds of rock and sand. Near the top, perhaps, is a layer of comparatively impervious shale or limestone. Under that there may be one of porous rock or sandstone. In a dome formation of this kind—perhaps several hundred feet down, possibly a mile or two—the engineer's drill may find a reservoir of gas, oil, and salt water.

Drake struck oil at 69 feet. Rock oil was widely used for medicinal purposes, something of a cure-all, an original patent medicine. But for several years, also, chemists had known a process for distilling kerosene from coal, and burning it for illumination as a substitute for whale oil. Drake's financial backers

knew what they wanted if they did not know what they were doing.

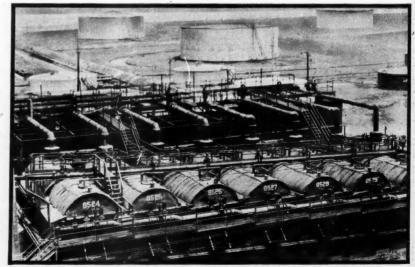
In the seventy-two years that have passed, the oil industry has never ceased acquiring knowledge. The oil man of today is a composite person, equal parts geologist, pale-ontologist, physicist, chemist, engineer, and industrialist. In the earlier period the geologist found his rock formations protruding from the earth's surface. Now the search for new fields is more difficult.

Thus we have the geophysicist. He maps rock a mile below ground as the surveyor maps a surface. After placing instruments to register vibrations, he then explodes a charge of dynamite. The first movements on his oscillographs record the explosion itself. Later the pen again sways. It seems that pulsations generated by the explosion travel down until they meet rock, and rebound

to make the second zigzag. Elapsed time tells how far below is the rock; and the severity of that second vibration tells something of the kind of rock and its thickness. Comparing his several instruments the geophysicist has a picture of varying levels of subsurface rock and sand and tells you where to drill.

First on the scientists' roll of honor in the petroleum refining industry is the name of Dr. Abraham Gesner, a Canadian, physician by education and geologist by preference. Experimenting with asphalt and then with soft coal, Gesner obtained by distillation an illuminating oil which he called kerosene (keros being Greek for wax). He had been living in the United States, with his patents, for seven years when the discovery of rock oil in Pennsylvania furnished a much more economical material from which to distil kerosene.

That kerosene era, overturning the lighting habits of the world nearly eighty years ago, has not yet disappeared. In cities it gave way to gas obtained from coal, which in turn was superseded by the electric lamp of Edison. But in many rural districts the kerosene



STILLS AND CONDENSER BOXES

Vapors arising from crude oil heated in a still are turned into liquids again—gasoline, kerosene, and such—by contact with cold temperatures in the condenser. Thus is petroleum "refined."

lamp survives as a vast improvement over the tallow candle. The Rockefeller philanthropies are founded upon the pennies of profit that resulted from the sale of thousands of millions of gallons of kerosene for lamps. The oil wagon, with its uniform rows of small, snouted, family-size cans of kerosene was once as familiar a sight in our city streets as the milk wagon.

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When the kerosene era was at its height the refinery was able to obtain slightly more than 24 gallons of kerosene from a 42-gallon barrel of crude oil. There remained perhaps 5½ gallons of gasoline, for which the



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

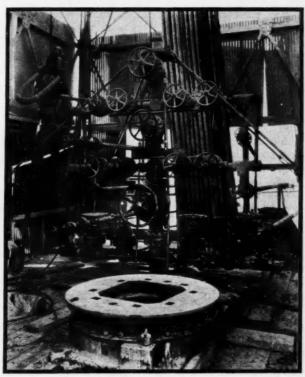
GASOLINE STILLS IN THE CHICAGO DISTRICT
This refinery on Lake Michigan gets its crude oil—for distilling into
gasoline and other petroleum products—by pipe line all the way
from Oklahoma and Texas.

industry had little use, about 6 gallons of gas oil and fuel oil, and 3 gallons of lubricating oil.

With the coming of the gas jet and the electric lamp, the petroleum industry might have shut up shop and disappeared. But strange coincidences often happen. At that very moment other men with inquiring minds were playing with a new toy, an internal combustion engine that would harness the explosive vapor of gasoline to create energy as a substitute for steam. Henry Ford built an efficient gasoline engine and mounted it on a horseless buggy, to make the first Ford automobile.

The automobile changed the world. Incidentally it changed the petroleum industry. Gasoline, the unwanted stepchild, began to be looked upon with favor and ultimately took its place at the head of the refiner's table. With a diminishing demand for kerosene and an increasing demand for gasoline, the industry made the transition painlessly.

If you place crude oil in a kettle and subject it to boiling, the first vapors that rise (just as steam pours from the spout of a teapot) come from the lightest fractions of molecules of the hydrocarbon that is petroleum. Cool those vapors, by capturing them and passing them through a coil submerged in cold water,



PRESSURE CONTROL VALVES

This well, near the famous Kettleman Hills district of California, had not struck oil when the photograph was made. Drilling has reached 9700 feet. The pressure control valves were ready to harness the flow of oil and gas that was momentarily expected.

and they return to a liquid form (just as steam condenses into water). Those first vapors, after condensing, are gasoline. Increase the temperature of the remaining crude oil, and vapors arise from the next heavier fractions. These when condensed are kerosene. The remainder becomes fuel oil and lubricants.

In 1904 our automobile makers turned out 22,419 passenger cars and 411 trucks. For every one made in that year a thousand now roam the highways. At that time the refinery's gasoline yield was 10 per cent. of the original quantity of crude. By 1921, the year of impending famine, the refiner had so perfected his methods that 27 per cent. was gasoline. In 1930 the wizards of the refinery, aided by new pools of oil rich in gasoline content, brought the average gasoline yield of all petroleum up to 42 per cent.

Restating it in gallons instead of percentages, a 42-gallon barrel of crude oil supplied slightly more than 4 gallons of gasoline in 1904 and 18 gallons in 1930. If the geologist, the physicist, the prospector, and the drilling engineer had played their part well, so too had the chemist and the plant engineer.

Contributing more than anything else to this fourfold increase in the amount of gasoline extracted from a given quantity of crude oil is a treatment known as "cracking." There are several methods, one of the pioneers being the Burton process. William M. Burton had entered the employ of the Standard Oil Company as a chemist in the year of his graduation from Johns Hopkins University, in 1889. He became general superintendent in 1895, and it was in that capacity that he worked upon and perfected his cracking process that revolutionized the whole refining industry. He was made vice-president of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana in 1915, and president from 1918 to 1927.

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The conditions of temperature and pressure under which this Burton process operated required that its raw material have very definite specifications to permit good performance; and it has been practically supplanted by units of much larger capacity and capable of cracking much heavier oils, thus permitting wider use.

The cracking process is not a substitute for the older, "straight run" method of distilling. It is a further step, applied only to the heavier fractions that remain in the still after gasoline and kerosene have been boiled off in the usual manner. These heavier fractions are placed in a specially designed still and again subjected to heating, at far higher temperatures and under great pressure. In straight-run refining there is no fundamental change; if you take the gasoline, kerosene, gas and fuel oil, lubricating oil, and residue that come from a still, and then mix them all thoroughly, you once more have crude oil. But cracking effects a chemical decomposition of the gas oil and fuel oil fractions of crude.

In an ordinary still the vapors escape, and upon condensation become gasoline or kerosene. In a Burton still they remain, and both vapor and liquid are subjected to the same high pressure. The effect is to split large molecules into smaller ones of varying size and to produce a mixture which will once more yield gasoline and kerosene by distillation.

Throughout the whole country cracking added 164,-000,000 barrels (of 42 gallons each) to our production of gasoline in 1930, an extra yield of three-fifths as much as straight-run refining. Does it sound more amazing to say that the chemists' cracking process yielded in that year considerably more gasoline than all the refineries of the country distilled by all methods in 1921, the year of Dr. Day's impending shortage?

The newest wonder of the refinery is the hydrogenation process, being sponsored by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey but born in a German laboratory. Petroleum is a hydrocarbon, and in the operations of refining the hydrogen element tends to disappear from the still while the carbon element remains. Hydrogen added to this carbon residue converts the mixture into an oil that is susceptible of further refining. Thus the name "hydrogenation" process.

PROGRESS THROUGH scientific research in industry has formed the keynote of a series of articles published in this magazine since January. In every instance the work described has centered in the laboratory of a single corporation: the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the General Electric Company, the Aluminum Company of America, and the Eastman Kodak Company. Circumstances would make exceedingly difficult a similar article on research in the petroleum industry. Here there are scores of rival companies of giant size, each utilizing the services of experts who look forward rather than backward.

There is, however, a unified program of scientific research in petroleum geology, physics, and chemistry, under the auspices of the American Petroleum Institute, with funds made available by Mr. John D. Rockefeller and the Universal Oil Products Company of Chicago. The Institute has enlisted the services of the National Research Council, and each of its twenty-one current research projects is being carried on under the direction of such men as Dr. Robert A. Millikan of the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Hugh S. Taylor of Princeton University, Dr. E. Emmet Reid of the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. David White of the U. S. Geological Survey, and Dr. E. W. Washburn of the Bureau of Standards at Washington.

One of these projects involves chemical and mechanical analyses of sediments obtained in the Channel Islands region of California, as part of an investigation of the sources of oil.

Another is an effort to bring about the actual separation of petroleum into its chemical parts. For seventy years and more the industry has used rock oil without actually knowing what it is.

A third project seeks to apply knowledge that a temperature of 100° Fahrenheit is attained at a depth of 1500 feet in wells near Tulsa, Oklahoma, and at 4000 feet in wells near Oklahoma City. Temperature has been found to have some relationship to the nearness of salt, and salt may indicate the proximity of oil.

From a single raw material supplied gratuitously by Nature, an oil producing and refining company may obtain products staggering in their number and variety. Even as the oil comes from the ground it may be accompanied by natural gases which are burned for fuel or for the production of carbon black used in rubber tires, inks, and paints. Natural gas also yields acetylene, hydrogen, toluene, ether, a series of alcohols, and scores of other products. It is an industry in itself, growing faster than the layman can follow.

Among the white distillates of petroleum are gasoline, naphtha, benzine, and kerosene, followed by light and heavy furnace oils which are in increasing demand for heating dwellings and business buildings. Among the intermediate distillates are gas oil used in the making of gas for fuel, and Diesel fuel oil.

Derived from the heavier distillates are (1) medicinal oils used internally and in the making of ointments and cosmetic creams; (2) saturating oils for wool and twine; (3) flotation oils used in the recovery of metals; (4) waxes used in candy, chewing gum, candles, and laundry and sealing wax; (5) lubricating oils, not only for automotive purposes but for steam cylinder lubrication and a multitude of industrial uses.

The residues after distilling yield greases for gears and petrolatum for salves and for what is known by the trade name of vaseline. They yield boiler fuel oil, road oil, asphalt for roofing and paving, and coke.

Even the salt water of the oil field will give up iodine and iodides, and the refinery sludges make fertilizer material. The efficiency of big business is here exemplified in much the same way that pork-packers are reputed to utilize every part of the pig but the squeal.

The comparatively brief history of the petroleum industry—it is said that the boy who helped drill the first well for Drake is still alive—has witnessed several profound changes in the character of the demand for its products. At first it was kerosene alone that was desired, for illuminating purposes. Later it was gasoline, for transportation. Possibly we are approaching the time when the use of natural gas as well as gas oil and fuel oil, for heat and power, will rival gasoline as the most valuable product of petroleum. He would be a foolish man who ventured to guess regarding the future.

Transportation will not yield its leadership meekly. Already the giant ships of the sea seem definitely to have turned their back on steam, and have joined the vehicles of road and air in the use of oil.

In the space of a single lifetime an industry has come into being and grown to huge proportions. Its products have long exceeded a billion dollars in value yearly. It pays untold millions each year in income and property taxes to federal, state, and local governments. It pays in addition a special consumption tax in every state of the Union—known as the gasoline tax—which yields a million dollars a day for road purposes.

# New York City Cleans House

HEN NORMAN THOMAS was nominated for Mayor of New York, the Citizens' Union said that he was far superior in point of character and ability to the Democratic nominee, Walker, or the Republican, La Guardia. In his campaign he described the conditions in the city so fearlessly and accurately that he proved himself a prophet.

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The underlying cause of corruption in New York is the weak character and apathy of the citizens who hold aloof from politics while those who take part ask. "What is there in it for me?"—instead of "How can

I do my part as a citizen of the Republic?"

When Al Smith was in control the decent element in Tammany kept the grafters within bounds and Tammany was almost popular; but when the Curry faction got the upper hand, conditions changed. Gamblers, bootleggers, and the underworld fraternized with judges and police officials. Favoritism, patronage, and protection degenerated into tyranny and racketeering.

The disclosures that judges owed large sums to men like Rothstein raised the question as to how far impartial justice could be expected; and the evidence that a number of the magistrates and police officers persecuted and blackmailed unfortunate women shocked the entire

The murder of Vivian Gordon, the day before she was to testify against a policeman, caused such a feeling of horror that groups of citizens in different parts of the city and representing all shades of political belief asked the State Legislature to conduct a non-partisan, city-

wide investigation. The Citizens' Union had asked for

this in December.

The City Club (an influential organization of fifteen hundred men, which for forty years has worked for good government in the city), wrote to the Governor charging that District Attorney Crain of New York County had neglected his duties and asking that a commissioner be appointed to see whether the charges would not warrant his removal from office. Governor Roosevelt acted promptly, appointing Judge Seabury who is now engaged in the investigation.

The City Affairs Committee, representing a fearless radical group led by Norman Thomas, Rabbi Wise, Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Heywood Broun, asked the Governor to authorize a special investigation of the Mayor's administration; and the Society for the Prevention of Crime (the Parkhurst society) urged the Legislature to investigate all phases of the city administration. The New York Board of Trade and the New York Federation of Churches made the same demand.

In March the New York Committee of One Thousand was organized to arouse public opinion in behalf of a legislative investigation—city-wide and non-partisan—and to ask citizens to support it by fearlessly testifying regarding racketeering and persecution, official or unofficial. The Legislature, after some hesitation, authorized a committee with widest powers (and an appropriation of \$250,000), with the understanding that Judge



RATHER EMBARRASSING

By Sykes in the

New York Evening Post

# By WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN

Seabury should be appointed counsel of the committee.

The Committee of One Thousand seeks to open every source of corruption and graft which can be found and to sift out the cases which may be turned over to the Legislative Committee. It has appointed a committee of two hundred lawyers, under the chairmanship of Maurice P. Davidson, with sub-committees in every borough having promi-

nent lawyers as chairmen. These lawyers have issued a call to all citizens having knowledge of corruption or irregularities in the city government to supply information, with confidence that they will be protected

against reprisals.

Until the formation of this committee a citizen having a complaint against the city government had no resort but to lodge his grievance with officials politically allied with the subject of the complaint. The Lawyers' Division of the Committee of One Thousand now provides a way for independent action on such complaints. No longer need any complainant feel that he stands alone against a system. He need fear no reprisals; his confidence will be respected; and every effort will be made that the ends of justice shall be met.

It becomes the duty of all New York citizens who cherish our system of government to come forward and expose any weakness or corruption. The greatest peril to our institutions is not that some persons may abuse them, but the indifference or acquiescence of the general body of citizens in the face of such abuses.

The Women's City Club issued a statement that it has been deeply shocked by the disclosures of abuses in many phases of the city government; and through its civic committees, dealing with housing, markets, prisons, probation, health and sanitation, the club is acutely aware of the need for better administration in all these departments of civic life. The break-down in the city government revealed in the current investigation blocks all progress.

The Women's City Club welcomes the present investigations but maintains that fixing the guilt of individuals is not enough. The club advocates a form of government in which a business administration will take the place of log-rolling and patronage. It asks for a thorough study, possibly leading to charter revision.

Under Judge Seabury's direction a thorough investigation is assured and the results will be far-reaching. There will be a chastening in Tammany Hall and it will surely put up a candidate of far larger caliber than the present mayor; and even so, a fusion candidate like Seth Low or John Purroy Mitchel may be successful.

But the Women's City Club is right. We do not want to continue to alternate between reform and Tammany administrations. The Board of Estimate should not be permitted to make the appropriations and also spend the money. It should be possible to attain a revision of the charter which would put the city on a business basis.



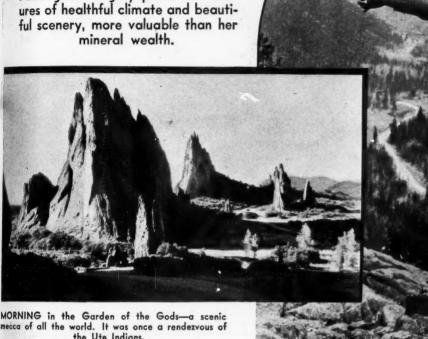


THE grave of Col. William
S. Cody (Buffalo Bill) and
his wife atop Lookout Mountain in the Denver Municipal
Mountain Parks is visited annually by thousands. It commands a sweeping view of
the Great Plains.

AN example (above) of Denver's modern public schools, the million-dollar East High School. mecca

At left is a scene on Bear Lake Nature Trail in Rocky Mountain National Park

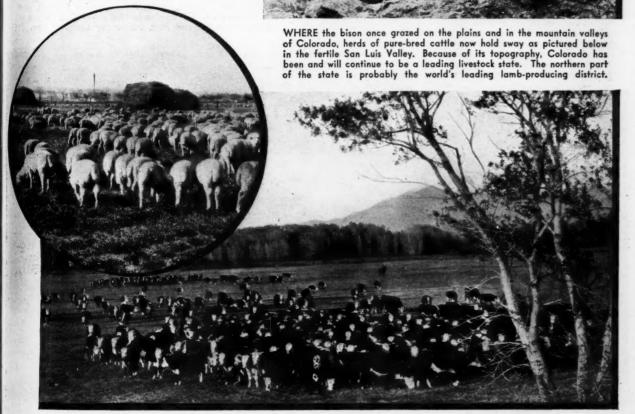
THE CENTENNIAL State of the Union, admitted in 1876, now has more than 1,000,000 citizens; and her story, here told in pictures, is an epic in the progress of the West. Most evident is the inspiration of Nature for visitor and resident alike. Among her mighty peaks lie treasures of healthful climate and beauti-



mecca of all the world. It was once a rendezvous of the Ute Indians.

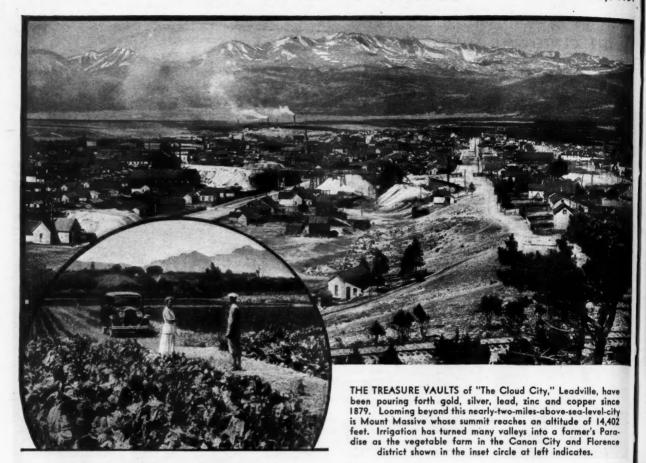
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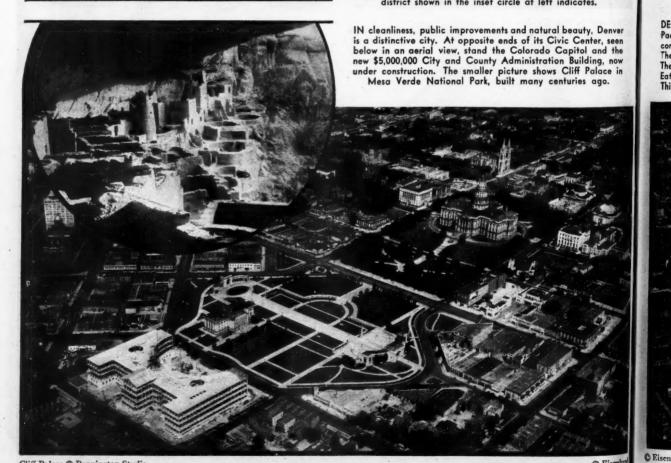
Rocky Park



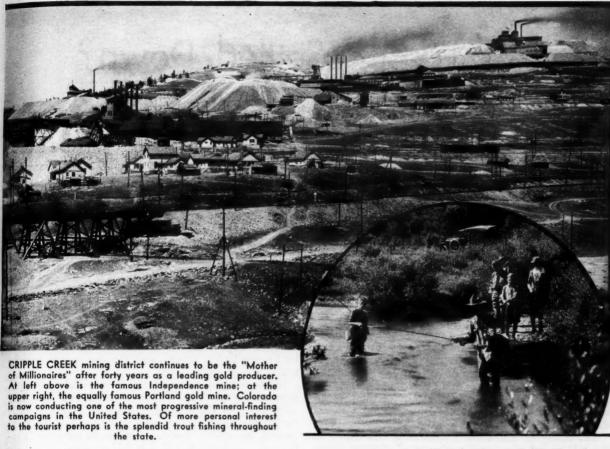
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# Has Europe Settled Down?

A QUIET year was promised when suddenly Austro-German tariff union was proposed. Mr. Simonds here explains the background which permitted that startling event to be absorbed quietly. Next month he will take up the proposed union itself.

Since I LAST WROTE here Europe has witnessed one more of those sudden and dramatic political changes which, during all the post-war period, have continued to bewilder the American ob-

server of transatlantic affairs. Superficially, the naval convention between Britain, France, and Italy, which has of itself become an old story, seems to mark no more than a logical step to complete the work of the London Naval Conference a year ago. It extends the limits of the London Treaty to include two states which last year by reason of their mutual differences were unable to join in the general pact.

On this basis, so far as one may judge from the reports which reach this side of the water—I am writing this article in France—American public opinion has welcomed the new agreement. It has seen it as marking a change in the state of mind of two peoples, and as promising a forward step in the task of reducing of armaments at the forthcoming Disarmament Conference in Geneva next year.

Yet oddly enough, while Europe as a whole sees in the still recent agreement evidences of changes which may profoundly affect the current of continental history in the next years, there is—at least outside of Britain—no echo of the American view. In fact, in Berlin, at least, there is the growing notion that the circumstances of the naval bargain may forecast a complete failure in Geneva.

From the European point of view this Franco-Italian compromise, obtained through the intervention of Brit-

ish ministers and foreign office agents, bears no relation to any reduction of naval strength. It does not even settle the underlying controversy between France and Italy over the question of parity. All it does is to recognize the fact that in the existing economic situation of all concerned, there is equal reason for abandoning ambitious building programs and for sticking to existing relative strengths until the conference of 1935, foreshadowed in the London Naval Treaty of last year.

The London Conference broke down as a five-power affair because Italy claimed and France rejected the extension to all categories of ships the parity established as to capital ships at Washington in 1921-22. Thereupon Italy entered into an intensive acceleration of her building program, designed to arrive at parity. France prepared to defend her existing superiority, and Britain found herself faced with the danger of having to invoke the notorious

escalator clause of the London treaty, which authorizes her to go beyond treaty figures if the situation should change—as it threatened to change. reaso

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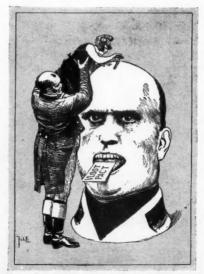
These circumstances cast a shadow on the London Conference's achievements. The conference had failed to procure any real reduction in tonnage, and for the United States it foreshadowed the expenditure of a cool billion dollars in the next few years to attain parity with Britain. Above and beyond all else there loomed the growing certainty of still further expansion induced by Franco-Italian rivalry, and the consequent invocation of the escalator clause.

Before autumn, however, the Franco-Italian dispute, after having produced violent repercussions, began to show signs of diminishing. Italy was struck heavily by the world-wide depression while the London Conference was still in session. France, by contrast, is today only beginning to feel it in full severity. Given the fact that Italian resources were no longer commensurate to the task of outbuilding the richer and more prosperous French and that Italian need of a foreign loan was finding anything but sympathetic response either in America or France—the two available sources of funds—the Fascist government after a summer, autumn, and winter of battle, gave up the fight.

Four years hence, when a new naval conference as-

sembles, the relative strength of the French and Italian fleets will be about what it is now. Meantime the construction program will be limited to replacing obsolete craft, save as the French may build one or two battle cruisers to meet the threat of the new German Ersatz Preussen. Then at the new conference Italy will be free to revive her demand for parity with France, as Japan has announced her purpose to insist upon a larger ratio vis-a-vis ourselves. Thus an accurate definition of the present agreement is that it is a temporary limitation imposed by financial stringency. nothing to do with disarmament or even of reduction of armaments. It does not represent a change in the minds of either the French or Italian peoples, foreshadowing any far reaching transformation of conditions on the continent.

This agreement seems in German eyes to foreshadow a block in progress at Geneva for the simple



From De Groene Amsterdammer, Holland
THE ITALIAN SLOT MACHINE
Italy's need for a loan makes a FrancoItalian naval agreement possible. Hence
the pact is here shown issuing from Mussolini's mouth as money is dropped in above.

### By FRANK H. SIMONDS

The author writes from the Franco-Italian border, one of Europe's danger spots.

reason that, behind the actual compromise between Paris and Rome on the naval issue, Berlin sees the prospect of a Franco-Italian financial arrangement. Italy, Berlin believes, is going to get a foreign loan as a consequence of the adjustment.

Given this situation, Italy is almost certain at Geneva to display no further enthusiasm for the German thesis that either Germany should be permitted to arm up to the level of her neighbors or that they should be compelled to disarm down to hers. Such a change could come about only if the victorious nations agreed to the modification of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles covering German land and water armaments, or if France and her associates agreed to enormous reductions in their own forces.

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While Italy was engaged in her long and bitter quarrel with France over naval parity, Mussolini frequently expressed sympathy with the German claim for equality—not because of any fundamental sympathy with Germany, but as a bit of tactics in the struggle with his Latin rival. Thus Germany has been led to believe that she could count on Italy's aid at the Geneva conference next year. Now she sees the probability that Italy will be little concerned with the German case, having made her terms with France.

German demands for liberty of action, permitting her to increase her naval and land armaments beyond treaty limits, naturally awaken little enthusiasm in Britain or in France. Moreover Britain, quite as much as France, will be financially disturbed if Germany fails to pay reparations; and deems illogical a German demand for the right to expand her armaments at the moment when she is pleading her inability to pay reparations.

In Germany the question of equality in security, which means equality in armaments, has become a vital issue and all my German informants two months ago agreed that if Germany were unable to obtain equality she would quit the League. But in the Geneva discussions she seems limited to the support of Hungary and Bulgaria among the League powers, and of Russia—which will be represented although not a member.



From Kladderadatsch, Berlin, Germany
THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE OF 1932
It is the old, old story, says the German cartoonist, with France and England enjoying the benefits while Germany has the drudgery.

To the German mind, then, the new naval bargain appears a sign of a fresh drawing together of her old foes of the war, Britain, France, and Italy. There is added the fear that the United States, satisfied now with the naval agreement and unconcerned with land armaments, will decline to undertake any considerable role at the disarmament conference or display any useful interest in the German thesis. Vaguely, too, the Germans suspect that Mussolini, with great adroitness and at a propitious moment, has been able to slip into the seat made vacant by the death of Stresemann. They see him as fortifying Italian prestige by giving the impression that Italy is now one of the Big Three powers directing Europe. There is a new sense of isolation disclosed in all German comment.

## Franco-Italian Agreement

NEVERTHELESS, IF EUROPE sees little or no importance to the recent naval agreement so far as armaments are concerned, it sees profits on the political side which may prove as great as those which accompanied the Locarno agreements—agreements which, if they tend to become of lesser value now, were responsible for nearly five years of Franco-German tranquillity.

What the naval agreement means is that France and Italy, after a quarrel which has lasted with little interruption since the arrival of Fascism in power in Rome, have concluded a truce. The basis of the bargain happens to be the naval detail, but the fact of the bargain is vastly more important than the basic circum-

stance. And for all Europe this truce means that in this time when economic difficulties can have grave international and national political consequences, the most disturbing single menace of war has been removed.

Few Americans have actually realized how tense and dangerous these Franco-Italian relations have been. They have served to poison almost every international meeting, where France and Italy appeared on opposite sides. The tenseness has spread chaos in southeastern Europe, where two systems of rival ententes have been built up. Along the Franco-Italian frontier itself there has developed a condition which can hardly be compared to anything but war.

In recent days I have spent a brief time at Menton, just inside the French frontier and within plain sight of Italy. Looking out from my hotel window I could see far above me the imposing fortifications on Mount Agel. Against the face of the mountains I could mark the scar where military roads were being pushed upward, while with my ears I could hear the reports of rifle fire and the tac-tac-tac of machine-gun practice incident to military maneuvers. With my eyes I could watch French warships passing the coast and hear the boom of their guns at target practice.

Not only are both sides of the frontier on a war footing and the passage of the frontier a ceremony recalling to me a trip to the front during the War, but in recent years there have been several acute scares. At least once, three years ago, the French suddenly flooded the country with troops on information that Fascist militia were planning to seize Nice by a swift and secret raid.

Never since the War, save in that recent trip to the Polish Corridor (which I described in this magazine for March), have I encountered anything to compare with the situation on the Riviera this winter. Moreover this situation is the more strongly emphasized because of the contrast. There are thousands of winter guests living the life of tourists, playing tennis, dancing and gambling, seeking health or amusement in a land which has for half a century been the winter playground of Europe. But in the hills far above the shore preparations for war have been going on ceaselessly. Many of the donkey paths of two decades ago have become wide highways capable of bearing artillery trains. Menton itself, under the shadow of heights on the Italian side of the frontier perfectly prepared for artillery, could be destroyed in a few brief moments.

Now, with the present naval truce, it is far from impossible that a period of tranquillity may intervene in Franco-Italian relations generally. Certainly the press and public men on either side of the Alps have, since the present agreement, given equal evidence of a desire to extend the understanding to cover the long and complicated series of questions which divide the two Latin peoples—questions which include nationalization issues in Tunis, territorial disagreements in the Sahara, and the even uglier and less tangible things which are the result of a clash between two national prestiges.

If one had traveled long and often over the devastated areas of the last war, amidst the ruins of cities and towns and the incredible desolation of the countrysides, there can be no more unpleasant experience than seeing one of the most beautiful of all regions in the world, as this Riviera country certainly is, under the daily menace of the same destruction. To listen to American discussions of the Kellogg Pact and British programs of peace, and then to go to the Polish Corridor or the Riviera frontier of France and Italy, is to discover a

Of course, if underlying Italian policy were a determination to recover Nice—which gave itself voluntarily to France in 1860, with Italian assent purchased by French support of the Italian struggle against Austria—or if the Italians felt about this corner of the Riviera as all Germans feel about the Corridor, the prospects of peace would be slight. But despite the feverish utterances of super-patriotic Fascists, there is nothing to suggest that the nation or its present master cherish any such design. Italian sentiment is dominated not by an

contrast which it is extremely difficult to describe.

Irredentism seeking to recover the few remaining corners of Europe which were once Italian; but by the determination to find for the new and vigorous Italy a field for development in Africa and the Near East commen-

surate with its national strength.

Italian resentment over French policy rests upon the conviction that this policy is dominated by a purpose to restrict Italian expansion in all directions, to keep Italy a second rate power, to dominate the continent by a system of alliances which raises barriers on the Adriatic, the Danube, and in Asia Minor. This resentment is so deep-seated, the rivalry has resulted in so many mutually unpleasant incidents, that it would be idle to imagine that any mere temporary bargain over naval ratios for a few brief years could of itself produce a change.

But at bottom the differences are relatively minor. They do not rest upon issues produced by forcible annexations, lost provinces, unhappy and unreconciled minorities, as do the differences between Germany and Poland, Hungary and the Little Entente, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia. And an eventual adjustment which does not involve territorial sacrifices is at least not impossible.

It remains true that, failing such an adjustment, any peaceful organization of Europe is just as impossible as a similar venture with Germany left out. As long as Italy sought to realize her ambitions (many of them legitimate) by combinations based upon a program of treaty revisions, any system of order in Europe was unattainable. But if Italy now, first through immediate adjustments with France, later by wider coöperation with London as well as Paris, associates herself with the general program of European adjustment, the benefit on all sides will be incalculable.

Even Germany, if forced to choose between solitary partnership with Soviet Russia and coöperation with the western powers, may be brought back to the policy which was that of Stresemann. It may abandon purposes which have been imposed upon the reasonable elements by the recent explosion of the Hitlerites, purposes which have not merely threatened the peace of Europe but which now postpone the recovery of Germany herself.

### France in Depression

THE PAST twelve months I have been in Britain, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, and have touched the edge of Italy. Between all of these countries and France the contrast is striking in the extreme. In all of them, save Switzerland, you have the sense that the economic crisis has brought about a political crisis of even more appalling severity.

In France, by contrast, while the economic depression has made itself felt, very tardily to be sure, the political situation is totally undisturbed. While Britain is supporting 2,600,000 unemployed and Germany nearly 5,000,000, France is paying doles to but 40,000. The totally unemployed, to be sure, number upwards of 450,000, but they are foreigners who came to France in the postwar period and are today flowing back to their own countries. Neither politically nor economically do they constitute a problem.

In France, as in the United States, the present economic depression follows a considerable period of

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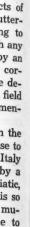


















Spinning Wings

The Airplane Learns to Fly Slowly and Land Gently

By HERBERT BRUCKER

and his wife get into the air, they will do so in an auto-

giro. This opinion is based on a considerable observation of present-day aviation. Do not forget that in the

year following February 1, 1930, American transport

lines flew nearly 15,000,000 passenger-miles per fatal-

ity; that scheduled flying by American air lines now

totals 115,000 miles every day; and that there is a com-

fortable, safe air service that takes you from New York

we are all going to fly. The autogiro is not a flivver

plane, and we are not all going to fly. For the present

it is even more expensive than the airplane—and so far as can be seen, airplanes are bound to remain expen-

sive. Moreover, flying will never replace our short

To believe that the autogiro will replace the airplane is not to say that the flivver plane is here, that soon

to San Francisco in 31 hours.

OR THE FIRST TIME in history a commercial

of airplane, was delivered to its purchaser in mid-Feb-

ruary of this year. The purpose of this article is to

tell about the autogiro-what it is, and what it does. But that purpose will not be fulfilled. The autogiro is

so different from the familiar airplane that words attempting to describe it do not carry conviction. One

must see it fly, one must sit in it while it flies, to under-

stand it. Only direct experience shows how violently it

wrenches our notions of what mechanical flight can be.

For present purposes the best thing to do is to ex-

press the sober conviction that the autogiro will replace.

the ordinary plane. For warfare, for carrying mail and

passengers at high speeds, the airplane will remainperhaps. But when in future years the common man

model of the autogiro, that strange new kind



























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rides in automobiles, buses, trains, and street cars. Like the automobile, the autogiro will lead us to make new journeys which now we don't even think about because they are impossible.

Since there are fewer than a score of autogiros in this country—it will be different a year from now—the desire to see one or to fly in one is not easy to satisfy. But put yourself in the position of an onlooker at the autogiro's home field in this country, outside of Willow Grove in Pennsylvania, not far from Philadelphia. You are familiar with the sight of airplanes, and have even flown in them. But you have not yet seen an autogiro close by.

Before you one of them squats on the field. Its motor and propeller are idling, but the windmill-like rotor is still. The pilot speeds up the motor, making the machine bump forward over the rough ground, turn, amble a hundred yards away, and turn again. It looks more awkward than a swan out of water. You have heard that these windmill planes really fly, or perhaps have seen one in the sky or in the news-reels. Yet now you wonder, seeing it at close range, that it can really get off the ground. It looks like the last thing on earth that could fly, particularly when compared with the trim modern airplane.

Then the wide-spreading, slim-bladed rotor begins to revolve. In a few seconds it is turning comfortably at 120 revolutions a minute. The pilot disconnects the engine from the rotor, which in flight is revolved by air currents alone. He speeds his engine. The machine leaps forward, and in spite of its spinning rotor it begins to look like a plane taking off. In far shorter distance, say 100 feet on the average, it leaps into the air. With the roar of a wide-open motor it climbs steadily upward at an angle so steep that a fast military plane could follow it for a few seconds only, and would have to fly at twice the speed to do it.

Before one minute has passed the 'giro is 1800 feet up. It has turned, and is now in level flight. The awkward appearance it had on the ground is gone, and now it flies at ninety miles an hour with an air of doing its job naturally, easily. Then it halts its forward rush, banks well over on its side, and gracefully turns a corner so sharp that no airplane could follow. So it flies and turns—now fast, now slow—and always the rotor spins

above it, keeping closely parallel to the airplane-type fuselage in which the pilot sits.

Then the machine skids sideways around a corner, and you hold your breath. You know that an airplane doing that will fall and spin to earth. But the 'giro unconcernedly flies on, and climbs high over the center of the field. Suddenly the distant hum of its engine drops into the slow putter-putter of an idling speed. The machine itself, instead of plunging into the rapid forward glide you expect, stops in mid-air. It no longer moves forward at all. Try that in a plane, and unless you know how to come out of a spin there is nothing to do for you but pick up the pieces and send condolences to the family.

Meanwhile the autogiro has placidly sat down in the sky. Only the rotor still moves, spinning as usual. You think the machine has hooked itself to the cloud above, but soon you see that it is drifting straight down. Slowly, slowly, it sinks toward earth. At length, perhaps forty feet above the ground, the pilot (who might have been napping for all the good he was during the descent) speeds the motor a little, and the machine noses forward into an abbreviated airplane landing. It touches the ground some yards ahead of the spot over which it had descended vertically, and stops dead in its tracks—or at most rolls ten feet on its wheels.

Then you clamber into the front cockpit. The pilot taxies away again, starts the rotor, and goes through the whole show once more. In your own person you make that stupendous climb. Slowly you make a turn which you know, in an airplane, could be approached only by banking so tightly that centrifugal force would press you heavily down into your seat while the blood rushed down out of your head. But now you circle about in leisured comfort. You drone upward in a wide circle.

Shortly the climb ceases. You are 3000 feet above ground. The vibration and roar of the powerful motor stop. But instead of the swift, rushing airplane glide which you still expect, in spite of what you have seen, the 'giro hangs in the air. A few feet above your head the rotor spins reassuringly. But the wind-blast past the cockpit has stopped. You can point your camera over the side with hardly a draft of air in place of the tugging wind that is inseparable from airplane flight.

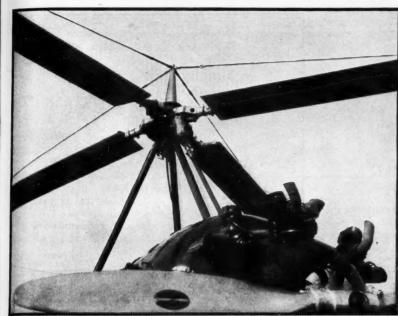
You look over the side and see, far below, the white circle marking the field from which you started. The tension of rapid motion is gone. Nowhere is there strain, or anything else at which to take alarm. For the first time you have the feeling of flying without effort, without strain. Then you look over again, and find the houses the trees, and field much closer—for



At left an autogiro is demonstrating its steep take-off by climbing out of a park in Miami. Below, the machine is shown at rest. Note how the rotor blades are supported by cables as they droop on their hinges.







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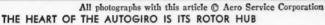
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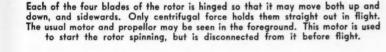
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in all this stillness you are dropping steadily. And so finally you go into a landing, and with a gentle bump touch the ground.

That landing, you know, took skill on the part of the pilot. But they will tell you that the straight descent you yourself could achieve, were you in the pilot's seat, simply by holding the control stick back. And if you wished, you wouldn't have to make a landing. You could let the machine drop straight to the ground. It has been done often, with no damage to machine or pilot, for the landing gear takes up the shock. Nevertheless it cannot be an entirely comfortable bump, for the autogiro in vertical descent comes down twelve or thirteen feet a second—perhaps two feet slower than a man in a parachute. Try jumping off an eight-foot wall if you want to know how it feels.

NCE YOU HAVE flown in it, you are convinced. The autogiro must be as good as they say it is. But it seems wholly unnatural. Surely no bird, no prehistoric beast even, was ever equipped with spinning wings like that. The standard airplane at least looks like a bird, and its flight is something like that of a soaring gull. There is some justification for the airplane in nature. Not so the autogiro.

Quite true. Also there is justification in nature for legs. But no automobile you ever rode in had legs. When you came out to the autogiro field you came on wheels. Whenever you go anywhere on land, beyond the range of your two feet, you go on wheels. The wheel may be unnatural, but it is the best way of getting about on land. And thus far the autogiro's wheel is the best way of getting around in the air. No wonder that Thomas Edison calls it the egg of Columbus.

The principle of the autogiro's flight can be expressed in this way: the thing that makes an airplane dangerous is the thing that makes an autogiro fly.

This is the spin, sometimes known as the tail spin, or (this describes it best) the spinning nose dive. Engineers tell us that autogiration of rotor blades and autorotation of a spinning airplane are different, in degree if not in kind. The autogiro's flight principle is a first cousin of the dangerous flat spin, rather than of the more usual spin which every pilot must master before the government will grant him a license. That requirement, by the way, is made not because spinning a plane serves any useful purpose, but to provide against the unintentional spin, which is the most prolific source of airplane crashes.

To have flight at all, speed is essential. Take an ordinary palm fan, drop it, and it will fall swiftly. But if you move it sideways through the air, you notice a considerable upward lift; it is flying. Motion makes flight possible. In aviation practice this means that a good-sized airplane has to be kept moving at fifty miles an hour or more. At any speed even a hair below that crucial point it will cease to fly, and fall.

The autogiro is subject to this fundamental law of flight. But we have seen that a 'giro can fly (sinking slowly), with no forward speed at all. The reason is that the rotor blades are forced by air currents, themselves caused by the downward pull of gravity or by forward motion, to revolve—and fly. No matter what happens, so long as the autogiro is in the air, these spinning wings keep flying. Though the machine itself has no forward speed at all in its descent, the tips of those rotor blades are moving at 200 miles an hour.

They are long and thin, those wings. Also they are flexible. When the machine is on the ground you can reach up, shake one, and watch it wiggle. More than ever you wonder how the autogiro can be safe with this lack of rigidity in its main supporting surfaces. The answer is that strength against upward thrusts is unnecessary. In the air only centrifugal force keeps the rotor blades from folding up on their hinges, like an umbrella turned inside out. Centrifugal force holds them out straight; and centrifugal force rather than the

Continued on page 89

# An Economic Austro-Germany

By ROGER SHAW

N MARCH 21 the German Government announced a preliminary pact with Austria to establish a complete economic and customs union between the two Teutonic countries, wiping out frontiers in the realm of commerce. Ratifications by Reichstag and Nationalrat are not yet forthcoming, but passage is assured. This Austro-German pact is not exclusive, for other nations are freely invited to join on the same terms as the charter members. Further, Germany and Austria are permitted to make individual commercial treaties with other countries.

By the terms of agreement, the political independence of both states is guaranteed; net customs receipts will be split on a fixed scale; and each country will bear the cost of its own customs administration. An impartial Austro-German arbitration committee will administer the treaty. Important provisions read: "Absolute independence of both nations shall be preserved, as well as strict regard for existing obligations toward third nations. . . . Both parties specifically declare themselves bound to negotiate with any other nation desiring to enter into a similar agreement . . . Germany and Austria will agree upon customs laws and customs tariffs, which are to correspond in both territories. . . . No import, export, or transit prohibitions shall exist between Germany and Austria."

In the interests of European harmony, Foreign Minister Henderson of England requested Chancellor Bruening of Germany to delay action until after the League of Nations Council meeting in May. At this time the treaty will be carefully examined, in the light of certain obligations whereby Austria obtained an international loan in 1922. Chancellor Bruening contends that the pact defies legal criticism, but has consented.

Foreign Minister Aristide Briand, of France, whose proposed United States of Europe attracted so much attention, opposes the Austro-German agreement as a rival plan. His "U. S. E." contains political, social, and economic clauses which arouse distrust in certain quarters. Some critics feel that the Austro-German plan—purely economic—is more practical as a nucleus for European coöperation.

Economic unification has played an important part in German history, for Prussia initiated a Germanic freetrade Zollverein in 1828 which paved the way for Bismarck's political unification in 1871. As far back as the Middle Ages there existed the famous Hanseatic League, which joined Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Cologne, and other important commercial cities into an economic unity embracing even non-German seaports.

A more recent commercial agreement was that of 1918 when Germany had learned of certain peace flirtations by her ally Austria. It aroused German public opinion, and the aggressive Ludendorff compelled easygoing Emperor Karl to sign a pact providing for the



Based on a map from the New York Time

economic union of Germany and the great Austro-Hungarian Empire. This customs union was backed by a long-term offensive and defensive military alliance, to take the place of the existing alliance which was loosely defensive. Austria-Hungary's disruption and Germany's defeat ended that arrangement.

When Austria-Hungary broke up, what was left of Austria proper voted through its Nationalrat for an immediate political union with kindred Germany; but this was forbidden by the Allies in the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. France feared German aggrandizement, the new Czechoslovakia opposed geographical encirclement, and Italy dreaded a frontier in common with Germany. (Unanimous consent of the League of Nations Council is ordained before Germany and Austria can politically consolidate. France alone can veto it.) But economic union was overlooked in 1919, and the very fact that Austria remains independent gives that little state the right to make whatever tariff arrangements it pleases.

European reaction to the new Austro-German project varies. France is filled with alarm, and the customs committee of the Chamber of Deputies even advocated an all-European tariff reprisal to exclude Germany and Austria. Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia, satellites of France, also oppose the union vigorously. But Lloyd George and his free-trade British Liberals, as well as the Labor rank and file, heartily approve of the Austro-German plan. Holland, Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria, and even Italy (all friendly to Germany and Austria) are mentioned as future economic adherents.

According to M. Briand, addressing the French Senate: "No one has the right to do this thing that has been undertaken. To the full extent of our possibilities we will not let it be done. This is evidently a decisive juncture in our relations with Germany." To this the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, of Berlin, replies: "It is perhaps the first autonomous act of German foreign policy which has been completed since 1918."

The London Financial News—favorably disposed toward the pact—asks: "Is there any consideration of policy that can for the moment be against a course that is otherwise so reasonable? Is it rational to try to force on Austria a degree of isolation that is bound to bring national bankruptcy in its train? The question of political union does not arise, but it is the bogey which is causing the outcry against the customs union."

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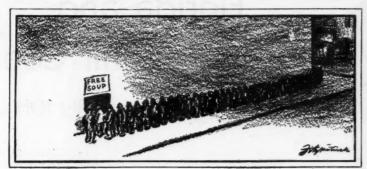
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By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post Dispatch

# The Challenge to Capitalism

By DANIEL WILLARD

E ARE LIVING in a period of changing conditions, such as has probably never before existed. When I was a boy it seemed to me that most, if not all, of our fundamental institutions had been definitely determined and fixed for all time. How this had come to be I did not know, but at any rate they were fixed beyond discussion, almost beyond question.

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I have in mind matters such as the following: The superiority of our form of government, the status of the Bible as our rule and guide of life, the place and authority of religion, the so-called capitalistic system, based upon the right of private ownership of property, the marriage contract, which is the basis of our family life, the calendar and the number of months in the year. Fifty years ago these questions were generally considered as settled.

Now all these are under attack and all are slowly but none the less surely going through a process of questioning and of reassessment which may leave them better or worse, but will certainly mean modification wherever and whenever it is believed by the majority of those affected that change or modification will promote the best interests of humanity.

There are those who are unceasing in their efforts to discredit, to undermine, to cripple and to destroy the capitalistic system, which is the basis of our entire political and economic structure. What are we who believe in it doing to uphold and protect it? I admit that those who seek to destroy or displace it may be as honest and well-meaning in their intentions and beliefs as I think I am; even so, I believe they are mistaken. With all its defects, and doubtless there are many, the capitalistic system, in my opinion, affords a better and fairer basis upon which to build an economic structure than any other system so far devised and tested by man. Doubtless there are many defects in this capitalistic system, which is the basis of our political and economic institutions, but I shall refer to only two.

A system—call it what you will—under which it is possible for five or six millions of willing and ablebodied men to be out of work and unable to secure work for months at a time, and with no other source of income, cannot be said to be perfect or even satisfactory. On the contrary, it can be said to have failed in at least one very important detail. I can think of nothing more deplorable than the condition of a man, able

and anxious to work, but unable to secure work, with no resources but his labor, and perhaps with others even more helpless dependent upon him. Unless he is willing to starve and see those who look to him for support also starve, his only alternative is to seek charity, and, failing in that, to steal. While I do not like to say so, I would be less than candid if I did not say that in such circumstances I would steal before I would starve.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM is not new, nor is it confined to this country, or even to times of general depression. But we have all come to see more clearly than ever before that the mere existence of the problem presents a serious challenge to our entire economic system. Practically everyone agrees that the problem is a serious and difficult one, yet no one apparently knows just how it ought to be solved; at any rate, no one has announced a formula for its solution in such clear and definite terms as to carry conviction. First of all we must have the facts, and all of them. We must have a clear statement of what the problem really is, and what it will probably lead to if not corrected. This much having been done, and it has not yet been done, the rest should not be difficult.

The second and the only other problem that I shall venture to discuss at this time is bound up closely with the first, and it may be indicated by the following statement: The United States is perhaps the richest country in the world in natural and humanistic resources. We have more coal, more oil, more copper, more iron and more standing timber than we will require, if prudently used, for many generations yet to come. We can produce more wheat, corn, oats, cotton and animal products than we can possibly consume, and we are holding millions of bushels of surplus wheat in elevators at government expense waiting for a market. We have a productive capacity in our mills and factories far bevond our own domestic requirements. At the same time, with all this surplus of wealth and resources, we have millions, so it is said, in dire need of food and clothing-in short, more of everything to eat and wear than we can possibly use—and millions of human beings hungry and cold.

The two problems together—unemployment and the distribution of resources—bring into question the very foundations of our political and economic system.



John H. Perry

THE NEWS FROM Florida is good news.

For the past five years everybody has been hearing bad news. The collapse of the land boom, the hurricanes, the fruit fly, the bank failures—those were sensational happenings, and it is the sensational that gets the headlines.

People read them and said "Florida is finished." Precisely the opposite is true. Florida has just begun.

I have returned from a motor tour of four thousand miles, through Florida and along the Gulf coast to New Orleans. I have seen a hundred developments which were mere projects five years ago, now completed enterprises. I have seen so

# Florida and the Gulf Coast

By JOHN H. PERRY

much evidence of vitality and energy that I am convinced that nothing can stop the march of Florida's progress.

All that has happened in the past has been a spur to greater effort for the future. Florida has no economic ills that publicity and advertising cannot cure. Those and time.

The real estate collapse in Florida was a drop in the bucket compared with the shrinkage in security values all over the world since then. But who doubts that time will bring security prices back? The drop in value of the shares of a single New York bank is greater than all the loss in Florida values. The 5,500,000 shares of that one bank dropped \$500 a share, from \$585 to \$85. Figure it out for yourself; it comes to two and three quarter billions! (And yet everyone knows that bank is as sound as Gibraltar.) Nothing approaching such a debacle ever happened in Florida. Then multiply that one bank by hundreds, and add the thousands of industrial securities that have suffered similar losses, and forget there was ever a slump in Florida. You wouldn't guess it, observing what the state has done in roads and bridges alone in the five years since the boom ended.

I went over the Old Spanish Trail from

Jacksonville to New Orleans. Five years ago it was a four-day drive from Jacksonville to Pensacola, at the imminent risk of wrecking the car. Today many motorists do it in a day, 383 miles in eight hours. Wide and well paved, the road crosses bays and rivers over 7½ miles of steel and concrete bridges, where fords and ferries used to halt the motorist. There were half a dozen ferries five years ago between Pensacola and New Orleans; today there is none, and all but two of the bridges are free.

Ten miles across Mobile Bay stretche the Cochran Bridge-ten miles, including causeways. Pessimists said it would be a white elephant on the hands of the private capital which built it. They had said the same thing seven years ago when the Gandy bridge across Old Tampa Bay between St. Petersburg and Tampa was built. The Gandy bridge is a gold-mine and the Cochran bridge, cutting seventy five miles off the distance between Pensacola and New Orleans, is another. I is only seventy miles from Mobile t Pensacola now, instead of 150. The bridge across Lake Pontchartrain into New Orleans has not proved so profitable, because the state has since built a beautiful scenic highway around the border of the lake, and toll-paying motor-

## John H. Perry, Lawyer and Publisher-

Few MEN still at the beginning of what may be called the middle stage of an active career have established more widely varied contacts in the United States than John Holliday Perry. Family backgrounds and personal experiences so identify him with the Ohio Valley that he might be haled as Kentuckian, Hoosier, or Buckeye. It is certain that he attended schools and colleges in Indiana and Kentucky; but he is an alumnus of the University of Virginia, where also his law studies were carried on. As a young lawyer seeking a good starting place, he went out to Seattle. There he became Prosecuting Attorney, an able counselor, a man of business affairs, and in due time a newspaper man by way of relationships that began with legal services for the head of the Scripps league of newspapers.

Through his association with succeeding generations of the Scripps family, he became as familiar with affairs in California as in Washington and Oregon. He found himself admitted to practice at the bar of more than half

the States of the Union; but he was also involved in a journalistic network that in due time took him to Cleveland, Ohio, where he lived for several years. Among other activities, he was counselor from Cleveland headquarters of the press services known as "N. E. A." (Newspaper Enterprise Association). With an unusual combination of aptitudes and experiences, Mr. Perry was in a position to understand newspapers both in relation to their communities, and also as business undertakings. And so he decided to enter the field of newspaper direction and control for himself, on an independent basis.

Whereupon, he found ample opportunities at hand. The American Press Association (with headquarters in New York) had a good name and a good history. It had been developed by the late Major O. J. Smith for the supply of syndicated material to country newspapers. That particular service had now been amalgamated with the Western Newspaper Union. But other services remained. There was a building conveniently arranged, and the

American Press Association was a good trademark to perpetuate. Mr. Perry acquired the name and all the assets that went with it, established his head-quarters in the Thirty-ninth Street building three short blocks below Times Square, and entered upon a series of adventures in the newspaper field.

These paragraphs are neither a biography of Mr. Perry nor a history of the ups and downs of recent newspapers and their financial control. It should be stated, however, that after less permanent journalistic investments in Tulsa and in other cities of the West and South, Mr. Perry identified himself strongly with the state of Florida in its forward movement, just before the beginnings of the great boom. It should be noted also that he had found, simultaneously, a good opening in Pennsylvania, where he united struggling morning newspapers in the city of Reading. That thriving and attractive manufacturing center has now in Mr. Perry's newspaper, the Times, the most successful morning paper of the state outside of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

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ists can save only eight miles for their dollar by using the bridge. It is only 570 miles now from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from Jacksonville to New Orleans. Prosperous, progressive, beautiful, hospitable, the Crescent City has sacrificed none of its Old-World charm to the march of its multiplying commerce. New Orleans is growing, and so is all its tributary territory. The sidewalks and even the center of Canal Street are paved with colorful Terrazzi, to make one of the most beautiful streets in the world. All along the shore of the Gulf of Mexico the country is building up. Gulfport, Biloxi, and Pass Christian are not only beautiful but are building growing cities. Southern Mississippi is becoming a year-round resort. From Ocean Springs to Bay St. Louis, some sixty or seventy miles, there is hardly an acre of water frontage

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without a cottage, for winter visitors from the North, and summer visitors from the inland cotton belt, come to the shore to enjoy the cool Gulf breeze. Mobile, Alabama's favored water outlet, is forging ahead with its ten-million-dollar state development of docks and harbor. And Pensacola is just entering what will be its greatest upward stage of progress. The L. & N. R. R. and the Frisco R. R. are spending millions developing these docking facilities, coal bunkers, and whale oil tanks.

On June 12 and 13 three new bridges are to be dedicated at and around Pensacola. The Perdido River bridge, to the northwest, gives easier access to Alabama. The Escambia Bay bridge, built with two million dollars of private capi-



tal (thanks to Messrs. Patterson and Wernicke), opens the gate to the Gulf Coast Highway to Panama City, Florida,

and on to Tampa and St. Petersburg. Of special interest is the bridge across the bay from Pensacola to Santa Rosa Island, opening for the first time the 55-mile island that stretches east and west along Florida's Gulf Coast. It has magnificent beaches both on the Gulf side and on Santa Rosa sound. Santa Rosa Island is destined to become a playground; schools and colleges are already planning to establish year-round camps there; owners of dude ranches are projecting winter extensions of their health-giving summer activities.

Roads-Florida builds them easily and

inexpensively, largely with convict labor, and many from Florida material. There are no heavy grades to cut down, no rock masses to blast out. Concrete lasts forever in this mild, equable climate. Five years ago there were a few good roads in Florida; today there is a network covering the state. To go from Fort Myers (Mr. Edison's home town), on the Gulf to Miami on the Atlantic, one used to have to motor north two hundred miles to Tampa and farther north before turning eastward. Today the Tamiami Trail, magnificently conceived and splendidly executed across the fertile muck swamps of the lower Everglades (where far-sighted Barron Collier owns more than one million acres), has cut the distance from coast to coast to 146 miles, the motoring time to three hours. When the Everglades are drained, as they will be, Barron Collier will have a million acres of land more fertile than the Valley of the Nile, and worth a thousand dollars an acre for winter gardening purposes.

Florida largely pays for its roads and bridges out of the gasoline tax of six cents a gallon. The winter tourists pay considerable of it, and rightly; they are heavy users of the roads. As I write, in April, the State Legislature is meeting. Governor Doyle Carlton, many newspapers, numerous publicists, are advocating the diversion of one cent a gallon of this gas tax to a fund for advertising Florida to the rest of the world. The tax now yields an average revenue of a million dollars a month. One-sixth of that would be two million dollars a year. That much money, properly used to tell the world-not that Florida has come back, but that it never went awaywould bring an additional half a million tourists to the state every winter. They will buy enough gasoline, in their average stay of thirty days, to add three million dollars a year to the gas-tax revenue. Will it pay? Ask that business genius, George Washington Hill, presi-

#### -a Transcontinental Career

In Florida, Mr. Perry fixed his faith firmly upon the state's chief commercial center, Jacksonville; and now for a number of years he has owned the one afternoon paper, the Jacksonville Journal. Becoming convinced of the great future that lay before the historic city of Pensacola in western Florida, he acquired both morning and afternoon newspapers, and he has never for a moment doubted the future greatness of Pensacola as a seaport, a railroad focus, and a thriving center of industrial and agricultural interests.

Mr. Perry's substantial concern with affairs in the lower South is by no means limited to his newspaper investments in Northern Florida. There is no part of the state with which he is not familiar. He has had real estate and financial interests at Tampa and elsewhere in southern Florida, is in full sympathy with Mr. Barron Collier's brilliant and daring projects, and knows the coast line well from the Carolinas and Georgia to Palm Beach, Miami, and Key West. He carries a cool, farseeing judgment through the human

phenomena of inflations and deflations; and safely discounts both extremes. He is not less intimately acquainted with the Gulf Coast than with the long Atlantic shoreline, and he has studied the various resources that surround the Gulf of Mexico, partly developed but mostly awaiting future enterprise.

Apart from more transient visits at frequent intervals, Mr. Perry makes a long winter and spring sojourn in the South, especially in Florida. Having returned from his latest visit to his home on the Hudson (where the entrance to his ground is exactly opposite the Washington Irving Memorial at Sunnyside Lane), Mr. Perry was in no way depressed about conditions as he had found them along our southern coastal borders. His personal inspection had taken him over thousands of miles of highway, and had not been limited to Florida. He had visited Mobile, Biloxi and New Orleans, and had generous views regarding the prospects for Alabama and Mississippi, and also for the state of Louisiana and its famous metropolis. A. S.

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dent of the American Tobacco Company, who had the courage and foresight to spend twelve million dollars last year to advertise Lucky Strike cigarettes, and reaped the harvest of over forty millions of dollars.

And when Florida starts again to advertise it will have something to tell the world. It will be the story of substantial achievement, of industry and agriculture, of the solid things that make a commonwealt. Every sensible man deplored the wild speculative craze of six and seven years ago, but many sensible men who did not let their heads get turned began to put money into Florida then and have

about making paper in Florida. Today they are doing it, and they are going to make a great deal more. Alfred I. du-Pont and foresighted Edward Ball were two of the sensible investors who did not speculate in Florida lands, but bought a hundred thousand acres of pine forest lying along the Gulf between Apalachicola and Panama City on St. Andrews Bay. Southern slash pine makes paper pulp, although nobody knew that for sure five years ago. Mix it with a small amount of southern gumwood and it is as good a pulp as you can make from northern spruce.

Now look at the economics of it. The

Newsprint will come next. The newspapers of the United States today are at the mercy of Canadian newsprint manufacturers, who control production and price, and are out of reach of our antitrust laws. The only spot on the map where newsprint can be made in the United States cheaper than Canada can ever hope to sell it is in Florida—whence water transportation brings the most thickly-settled part of the nation within range of low freight rates.

Three big paper interests, as I write this, are negotiating for mill sites and pulpwood supply. There is room in Florida for four big paper mills, producing



FLORIDA SUGAR

A sugar mill near the West Palm Beach canal in the reclaimed Everglades. This central mill serves a number of plantations in the Lake Okeechobee district and produces both raw and refined sugar.

© Ewing Galloway

been putting it in ever since. Now they are reaping their rewards.

Down in the Everglades, on the shore of Lake Okeechobee, G. G. Dahlberg bought, in 1925, a hundred thousand acres on which to grow sugar-cane. Twenty thousand acres are now producing, and thousands of acres more are being planted. The factories which make Celotex wall-board from the cane, after the sugar has been extracted, are crowded beyond their capacity and are about to be enlarged. Sugar production at a cost independent of tariffs is assured by this utilization of sugar's chief by-product. Florida will become the sugar bowl of America as well its sun porch.

FIVE YEARS AGO the tung-oil industry of Florida consisted of an experimental plantation of these Chinese trees, near the State College of Agriculture at Gainesville. Today the great paint and varnish makers are relying upon Florida for their chief supply of oil of the tung nut-most valuable of all oils for fine paints and varnishes. Thousands of tung nut trees are now being planted each year and in ever increasing acreage. J. C. Penney, chain store owner, has purchased about 160,000 acres of land near Jacksonville, and is planting thousands of acres to tung nut trees. Bunte, the candy millionaire of Chicago, is doing the same near the Ringling tract in the vicinity of Pensacola. Colonel Lloyd Griscom has some 40,000 acres near Tallahassee, with thousands of acres being planted in grapes. And hundreds of others are planting satsumas, sand pears, blueberries, tobacco, and divers products all over Florida.

During the boom some people talked

paper mill at Panama City, turning out kraft or sulphate paper, buys pine for \$5 a cord. It costs \$3.75 a cord to cut and deliver, but it runs 15 cords to the acre a profit on wood for the landowner of \$18 an acre, on land that cost about \$5!

In the moist, warm, sunny climate of Florida, you can grow pine in fifteen or twenty years, to a size that it takes a Canadian spruce seventy years to achieve. It pays to grow pines as a crop. Before cutting the older pines for pulpwood, you tap them for several years for turpentine and resin, earning a revenue from them while increasing their ultimate value for paper-making. The young crop coming along can be counted on for at least \$2.50 an acre revenue per year, from practically a standing start. That is the pine-grower's side of the matter.

To the paper-maker the economics are even more favorable. Northern paper mills pay from \$12 to \$20 a cord for pulpwood, and they buy by northern measure, only four-fifths as large as the Florida cord, which is based on five-foot lengths. Raw material for paper costs only a fifth, then, of the top price in the North. Pure water is essential and, in many places in the North, hard to get. Artesian water, freely available in Florida, is so pure that the water supply of the city of Pensacola is used by motorists in their batteries instead of distilled water! Those are only a few of the advantages of Florida as a paper-making region, which enabled William L. Wilson of Panama City, Florida, to induce one of the big paper companies to spend ten million dollars putting up a mill which is now in operation with 600 men. When completed, it will employ a thousand men, turning out 250 tons of paper daily.

five to eight hundred tons a day each.

The only drawback to even speedier development of the paper and other industries is being eliminated now. This is freight cost of fuel. Florida produces no oil, no coal. Coal from the southern Alabama mines comes in by rail. The Panama City paper mill uses three hundred tons a day. Shortly it will come all the way by water, and will further reduce the cost of making paper. While this diverts 300 tons of coal freight from railroad to water, the railroad will greatly benefit by carrying 250 tons of paper a day which will bear a greater toll charge.

The Federal Government is back of canal construction. The canal connecting New Orleans with Mobile Bay is finished. Much of the money for extending this coastal canal to Pensacola has been appropriated. Thence, eastward, Santa Rosa Sound provides a safe inside passage for barges and pleasure craft, as far as Choctawhatchee Bay. It will take only a little inexpensive excavation to cut a canal across St. Andrew's Bay. The next step will be to cut through to Apalachicola Bay, and so on, from bay to bay. This will make an inland waterway along the Gulf coast to compare with that which the Federal Government has constructed along the Atlantic Coast, which now enables the smallest craft to voyage with safety from New York to Miami. The dynamic R. E. L. Pryor, Chairman of Florida Republican Party, assures this writer that, in due time, there will be constructed a canal across Florida, connecting the Gulf with the upper reaches of the St. Johns River, near Jacksonville. It costs no more per mile to dig a serviceable sea-level canal in Florida than

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it does to build a concrete highway. No locks are needed.

I am not attempting here to do more than touch some of the high spots of Florida's industrial growth and prospects. There is room for many more new enterprises than these I have mentioned -industries based upon the almost untapped natural resources of the state. And they are coming, one by one. Hand in hand with this industrial growth, agriculture and horticulture have grown, too, since the boom days.

Citrus fruits still stand first among Florida's products, and the orange and grapefruit industry is on a sounder busi-

tourist still hears tales, all true, of great profits in bonanza yields from small acreages of tomatoes, peppers, and many more exotic products of the soil.

Florida does not yet raise enough poultry, eggs and dairy products to supply its own population, let alone its winter visitors. But up-to-date dairy farms are on the increase and some amazingly successful poultry ventures are to be found in every part of the state. Agriculturally, Florida is doing very well.

And the largest of all Florida industries, the tourist trade, is growing healthily and steadily from year to year. Florida's winter climate has not changed.

ning time. The transportation lines realize that Florida's day has hardly begun to dawn, and they are seeking strategic points of entry against the inevitable time when the ports of the Gulf of Mexico will take on new importance as being closest to the Nicaragua Canal.

Florida is only a little way ahead of the rest of the nation in regarding the Nicaragua canal as a certainty, and that not far in the future. The right of the United States to construct it is already secured by treaty. Our army and navy engineers have pronounced the project feasible. The Panama Canal has proved such a huge success that it is over-



**PINEAPPLES** 

Florida soil and climate is suited to pineapple grow-As this fruit requires little care, one man can cultivate a large field. This one, near Kelsey City, contains 209,000 plants.

Photograph from Ewing Galloway

ness basis than before the alarms about the Mediterranean fruit-fly forced the growers to closer coöperation. There isn't a fruit-fly left in Florida; the last quarantine has been removed. Regional shipping associations, marketing the product of an entire district under a single brand, are putting the sweet, juicy Florida orange more firmly on the map of the northern markets than ever, while Flor-

ida grapefruit production increases. W. J. Howey, of Howey-in-the-Hills, where he has ten thousand acres in groves, tells me there are only twelve grapefruit a year produced for each person in the United States. Florida's ambition is to get everybody to eat at least one grapefruit a week, thereby more than quadrupling the present production and consumption. A part of the state's next advertising program will well be focused upon this commodity, in which Florida admittedly leads the world. And in West Florida the satsuma orange, a novelty five or six years ago, is fulfilling the predictions of its pioneer planters by making a place all its own in northern

markets. Industries based on citrus fruits have grown enormously. Practical methods of preserving orange juice, by freezing and otherwise, have been developed. Canned and preserved grapefruit bearing the Florida brand is found everywhere today. And the growing of other fruits and of vegetables for the winter market is steadily on the increase. The tree-growing blueberries of West Florida go out in carloads. Sanford, on the East Coast, and Bradenton, on the Gulf, are friendly rivals in the world's celery markets. Plant City ships an increasing volume of January strawberries every year. The

The Gulf Stream still follows its old course, the sun still shines upon Florida's palm-fringed beaches. The hotels and apartments, mansions and cottages, for which the land boom was responsible, have not been destroyed. Florida does immensely better by its winter visitors than it was able to do only a few years ago. It houses them better, feeds them better, gives them better roads to motor on, better waterways for their boats, and charges them, on the average, much less. Half a million tourists annually, putting several hundred million dollars into circulation, constitute an industry the effect of which is felt all the way from Pensacola to Key West. The average is more-in number and in per capita dollars-and the slight falling off in the season just ended is no more than was to have been expected in face of the general national depression.

Florida is increasingly easy to get to. Five years ago there was not a single continuous paved highway southward from Washington. Now one travels on concrete from Maine to Virginia, thence either by the Richmond route or the Shenandoah Valley, to the splendid paved roads of North Carolina, across South Carolina on a highway system which is good out of all proportion to the state's resources, and so to Georgia (where there was not a single first-rate road five years ago but today there are half a dozen of the best, traversing the great state from border to border), and on to the southernmost tip of the United States at Key West, Florida. There are more rail connections from the North into Florida than there were five years ago, more trains and better run-

crowded with traffic; large ships frequently have to wait a day and a half to get through. And it is earning \$100,000 a day in tolls. Florida and the Gulf coast see the Nicaraguan canal not merely as a shorter route between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States-two days' steaming shorter in each ocean-but as a route which will make New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola and all the other Gulf ports the logical points of transshipment from rail to water, and vice versa. The short route to Panama today lies east of Cuba. From Pensacola south to Nicaragua is a straight line passing between Cuba and the Yucatan peninsula. The harbors are ready, the railroads are ready, everything is ready for the Gulf cities to take instant advantage of the Nicaraguan canal when it is built, as it inevitably must be. And the distance from Pensacola, Mobile, and Gulf ports to Nicaragua is only one hundred miles more than the distance from New York to Chicago.

The foundations, indeed, have been laid for an era of commercial and industrial development in the Gulf country in the next generation which will compare with that around the shores of the Great Lakes during the past generation. Chicago, Milwaukee, Duluth, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, were not built in a day. Chicago is celebrating its centennial two years from now. It has taken Cleveland and Detroit longer than that to reach their present eminence. Florida and the Gulf country are just beginning, by comparison. Their advance from practical isolation has been made within a generation. They have passed unscathed through every catastrophe.

Here Begin the Leading Articles Selected from the World's Periodicals by the REVIEW OF REVIEWS

## The Way Forward

By WILLIAM GREEN

President, American Federation of Labor

From the American Federationist, March

NEMPLOYMENT, IN FACT every large-scale catastrophe, produces an amazing crop of remedies. Most of these plans propose something that would divert energies from the real problem. Unemployment comes from maladjustments in our economic machinery, such as failure to find buyers for output, installation of improved machinery, irregularities in production, unexpected competition, et cetera. Those thrown out of jobs lose their incomes and become negative forces in business prosperity. What workers want is to be sure of having jobs so that they can meet the obligations of living. The vital question is: Can business be so organized and controlled that production can be stabilized and employment made secure?

This is no small problem. It involves stabilizing individual plants, stabilizing industries, and controlling the business cycle. The movement for stabilization

is comparatively recent —hardly a decade.

A few individual plants have had definite success in stabilizing production. But the efforts of individual establishments are not sufficient even if they were all working 100 per cent. Sustained, coördinated planning and execution are necessary for whole industries, supplemented by coördinated planning and integrated coöperation by all industries.

The interrelation of all economic undertakings and the interdependence that exists between prosperity for a community, an industry, a national economic unit, and finally between all countries operating in the world market, is the distinguishing feature of the present-day problem of unemployment.

Industrialists and experts have only just begun to study the problems of economic equilibrium. We need to disclose the facts and principles of balanced progress before we can build up the machinery and principles of control. Concentration on these problems is the road to progress. If human beings have intelligence enough to produce our present economic structure, we have intelligence enough to learn to organize and control it....

DESPITE THE American practice of high wages which was identified with our recent high prosperity levels, now there comes a proposal to reduce wages because of falling prices. To make wages follow fluctuations of prices or costs of living would hold workers to a dead level of progress.

Higher wages with a surplus over the customary expenditures are necessary to make higher standards of living possible.

AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING

WAGE SCALE

By Pease, in the Newark Evening News

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Increasingly higher standards of living must follow production increases if production is to be maintained.

Falling prices have been accompanied by higher wages and lower production costs per unit, hence we know there is no validity to the demand to reduce wages because prices have declined.

Wages are part of a balanced business structure—a dynamic thing that is the product of previous forces and in turn conditions the future. In this complex of moving prices wages represent the buyers in retail stores. Unless goods move through steadily to these markets for the final transaction which puts them into service the flow of production is retarded.

In the meanwhile greater economies in production, lower costs of materials, lower overhead costs per unit, may make lower prices possible. But wages represent consumer credit upon which the whole business structure ultimately de-

pends. It must increase steadily if business is to expand and prosperity is to be sustained. . . .

Detroit is the heart of the automobile industry, and has been proud of its growing population and mounting wealth. But its chief industry is new and has made no effort to curb seasonal expansions or layoffs. On the contrary, the industry has made use of seasonal features to stimulate demand for cars. In 1930 the difference between the highest number employed and the lowest number was over 100,000; in 1929 it was over 200,000.

Since 1924 this differential has averaged over 100,000 yearly. It means that a reserve work force of this size was available for the fluctuations in

#### Secretary Doak on Unemployment:

IT IS my sincere wish, both as a member of the President's cabinet and as a private citizen, that all our people may be helped by the knowledge that the unemployment situation can be relieved, and by the confidence that it will be.

Those who are tackling this job of relief at the Department of Labor realize fully that they have a man's size job, and they are going at it with energy and enthusiasm, coupled with an understanding that will enable us to come somewhere near finding a solution that will be far-reaching in effect.

While there is great unemployment in the country today, and great numbers of people working short time, there is not as much unemployment this month as there was last month. Above all else, I would impress this upon your consciousness—the situation is daily improving; many men who have been idle are returning to work, and labor conditions in this beloved land of ours are bound to get better.

—From a radio address arranged by the Washington Star and broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

automobile production. It means that these automobile companies lay off workers with no more consideration than they turn off power. These workers must maintain themselves or, if their savings are inadequate, apply for relief to municipalities, until the companies increase their payrolls for a new season. A large pool of surplus workers has gathered in Detroit to meet the peak requirements of the industry. . . .

Relief must be forthcoming for the immediate needs both in Detroit and other communities, but the vital problem is permanent planning to prevent recurrence of this distress. Though to devise a general plan involves many complications, there is one measure which would go far in meeting the problem and would help rather than hinder in the development of any general plan.

The automobile companies have paid dividends to their stockholders during this past year. They had reserves for this purpose. They could follow exactly the methods in assuring returns to their employees for their investment in the industry. Stockholders invest capital which buys plant, equipment, materials; wage-earners invest time, creative capacity, their physical and mental abilities, which are necessary in order to produce the products for which the under-

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taking was organized. They adjust their whole plan of living to their jobs.

The automobile industry has a responsibility to its employees paralleling its responsibility to shareholders; to the latter it is responsible for regular payment of dividends, to employees it is responsible for providing stable employment. Who would say that responsibility to those who invest their lives is a less serious obligation than responsibility to those who invest their wealth? What moral right has an industry to lay off workers as it would dispense with power? Workers maintain the principle that job security is a moral and industrial right growing out of their investment.

In general accounting there are three categories into which costs may be classified: materials; labor, or working the materials into completed form; and overhead, or the expenses incurred in operating the factory for the purposes of production.

Obviously factories could not operate without labor. There must be men and women who have to have shelter, food and clothing 365 days in each year and for such additional days as leap years may provide. The income to maintain these human beings must come either from the producing concern that utilizes

their labor capacity or from society. Instead of shifting responsibility for the upkeep of the workers to citizens of the community, industry might arrange to give all workers part-time employment and shorten the work-day. If industry plans to expand its work force to meet peak requirements, it must also plan to give employment to workers attached to the industry during slack periods.

Labor believes that the responsibility rests upon industry and prefers to work for its income. It points to the fact that under overhead charges are such items as depreciation on buildings, on machinery, idle machinery, taxes, insurance or contributions to workmen's compensation funds to cover casualties incurred in work. Another item, maintenance of idle workers, is a logical and analogous overhead charge on any producing establishment for which reserves should be accumulated.

In the last analysis, the cost of living for those who carry on industries must be paid either by the industry to which they are attached or the general public. Labor believes that industry has a direct responsibility and should assume overhead charges accordingly.

If industries prepare to meet the expense of their own labor overhead, they can make legislation unnecessary.

## The Challenge of Unemployment

By WHITING WILLIAMS

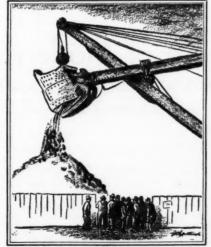
From the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March

ASKED A CARPENTER some years ago whether I was right in thinking that instability of employment was the most important point in the whole field of labor economy.

whole field of labor economy.
"Well," he said, "I've been lucky enough to have steady work at my job for the past six months, in spite of the fact that hundreds of my friends in the building trades haven't had any job at all. But I swear to you that there hasn't been an hour out of the past six months when I've seen the boss start in my direction but what I've said to myself, There it comes; this is the last. I'll be laid off today.' I haven't arrived home once in these last six months even so little as ten minutes ahead of time without having my wife catch sight of me as I turned the corner and out at the gate she was by the time I got there, with a catch in her breath, sayin', 'Has it come; are you laid off, Jack? Are we through with this good luck?" . . .

A worker in Glasgow expressed what I think represents every workingman's idea of Utopia. "Twould seem to me to be the very finest kind of world that any man could want—to get up out of bed in the morning and know a job was waitin' for you."

The fear born of this specific insecurity of the job, rather than of old age or bad health or what not, is not simply a matter of social concern. Undoubtedly it costs industry itself millions and mil-



By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"LUCKY SHOVEL—IT'S GOT A JOB"

lions of dollars in lessened daily production. Every worker feels that, according to his experience, if men work too hard they are going to be through just that much sooner. As regularly as men bring their daily tools in to the factory, they bring also the fear that if they work too hard they will simply work themselves out of their jobs.

"More production they says to us," protested one fellow in London. "Well,

it's bloody lucky that some of us don't furnish more production, 'cause if we did, then we'd make all the more unemployment throughout the country." . . .

Even greater than the economic factor is the spiritual factor. The reason I found men everywhere throughout the world praying, "Give us this day our daily job," is that the daily job is the only possible answer to that further prayer which is at the bottom of every man's and every woman's heart—"Establish Thou the work of our hands. Yea, the work of our hands, establish Thou it." If the work of our hands is established, then we are established.

The reason why unemployment is such a terrible thing is not simply that it prevents men from putting money into their pockets. It prevents men from having any possibility of believing that they are at all important in the whole scheme of things. Never since time began has there been anything invented that could compare with a man's job for helping him to understand how in the scheme of things, especially in modern integrated industry, he becomes important to other people.

This means that in all the world there is no substitute whatsoever for a job—except another job. That is why I think it a waste of time to talk much about offsetting unemployment. That will not save the social situation. The reason

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## Leading Articles

why I look with my fingers crossed, at least, upon government unemployment insurance is just that so much thought about unemployment insurance tends to leave out of consideration this matter of the spiritual factor of work. Any country is on the skids to the demoralization of its spiritual fiber as well as its industrial strength, the moment its public begins to assume that a worker who gets fifteen dollars a week in idleness is half as well off as he would be if he got thirty dollars a week at a job.

While it may be that we will have to think later about the necessity of working out schemes of unemployment insurance, I earnestly hope that it will be done in ways which will make absolutely sure that we use it as a tool to prevent unemployment, rather than simply to offset it. . . . It may be that later we shall have to confess ourselves powerless to prevent unemployment. It may be that we shall permanently have to divide up what work there is with everybody, forced to be content with both a threeday week and a three-day pay check. It may be, also, that we shall have to use less machinery or even go back to a lower standard of living. All of these things could be discussed as palliatives, but they leave the problem, it seems to me, in all the terms of its real importance as a factor in modern life, just exactly where it was before.

We must rather consider how we can prevent unemployment. The giving of money or the giving of guarantees of this or that sort that mean not work but only money leave the crux of the situation untouched.

We can conserve our emphasis upon the initiative and the freedom of the individual, and still put into the situation something which will give definite direction and leadership to our plans. In other words, we ought to have much more coördination of our industrial and social forces. We ought to go a great deal farther in building up units more representative of this industry and that group of industries-units which can speak in a much more representative way for their groups than can the National Association of Manufacturers or the United States Chamber of Commerce. Surely we can do very much toward the better coördination of our democratic impulses.

The moment we begin to talk about coördinating our industrial thinking and acting, we shall begin to help industry to take a longer look at its problems-much longer than is now permitted by the ordinary system of budgeting year by year. And the moment we get away from the present emphasis upon oneyear planning, that moment we shall approach that further development which seems to me to offer more for the prevention of unemployment than any one other thing, namely, product research-research calculated to invent or discover additional products, the making of which will put to work some of the men laid off by the improvement of process and method. .

The next thing will be a greater measure of international-mindedness. Just as we are wrong in saying that because this depression is a world depression we can do nothing about it, so are we wrong

in saying, "We cannot make any more jobs, so the only thing to do is simply to sit back and accept a lower standard of living, fewer machines, and thinner pay checks."

These are defeatist attitudes. They overlook the fact that, largely because of our American emphasis upon individual liberty, freedom, and initiative, the 122 .-000,000 of us here in America earn an annual income something like ninety billions-which is roughly equivalent to the earnings of all the other billion and a half inhabitants of the globe. That being true, then certainly we cannot expect to solve our problem without giving a thought to the buying power of that billion and a half. When we begin to think about the buying power of the entire world market, then we shall want to know more about that world and the way it lives and works. For instance, we shall want to know more about the International Labor Office, especially in view of the fact that its purpose is to help free the British and particularly the American manufacturer from the destructive competition of manufacturers in other parts of the world whose prices are dependent upon a much lower standard of living.

Altogether, I am hoping that with better organization and coördination of industrial leadership in America, we shall see that any man is practically an enemy of his country who says we must not care a rap about the other peoples of the world—their well-being or their buying power. Such talk may be good for getting circulation or votes, but it is very poor economics.

## The Future of Modern Design

By WALTER DORWIN TEAGUE

From Advertising Arts, March

QUESTION is often put to me, and I suppose to everyone else working in the applied arts of today, in somewhat this fashion:

"Do you think this 'Modern Art' is going to last? Do you think it is pretty much a passing fad? Or do you not?"

And the tone of the speaker may give it another season at most.

To answer properly would require at least as much time and effort as the writing of this essay. So I usually parry the question by asking another which sounds as if it meant a lot. I say something like, "Do you think the Empire State Building is going to last?"

The citation is not wholly honest, because the Empire State Building, for all its grandeur, is not in my opinion an altogether satisfactory example of what the design of today ought to be. But it gives the questioner a mental bone to gnaw, and while he is turning it over in faint bewilderment, I slip away into another topic

But these doubters deserve a better answer. There is much to be said for their skepticism, and its sound common sense. I know very well what is in their minds. They are thinking of the funny furniture that suddenly erupted its "skyscraper" angularities into all the shop windows a couple of years ago—furniture that seems to have lived its career in those windows, since one never encounters it in the home; and all the gadgets made of angles and points that have everywhere been threatening our repose. . . .

It is amazing that we Americans as a nation should be so daringly progressive in all forms of applied science, in all phases of industrial organization and engineering development, but so panicky, confused and reactionary in all matters of taste. Why cannot we carry the same courage and self-confidence with which we devise and manufacture our products, on to the determining of their visual form? Why does an executive display the most gallant initiative in developing an unprecedented utility, and organizing its production on a grand scale, and then be afraid to cast it in any form not sanctioned by the usage of Louis XVI or George III? This is a curious curtailment of American self-confidence, to which our psychologists have not given the attention it deserves.

Europe, with not half our opportunity or equipment, has gone much farther in evolving a type of design suitable to the technical methods of today, and to the life of this Machine Age; simply because Europe has confidence in her own taste, good or bad. In architecture, "mother of the arts," for instance, we have developed the crafts of building in steel and in reinforced concrete so far that the rest of the world, by comparison, is nowhere; but up to now the architects

### ■Leading Articles

of Europe, with nothing like our opportunity for experiment, have led us in exploiting the stylistic possibilities of these types of construction. Such men as Robert Mallet-Stevens, LeCorbusier and Walter Gropius have not only established this modern style in theory, but have shown us by actual demonstration what we may do if we have equal courage and vision.

They look with wistful eves at the wasted opportunities of our architecture, but for our engineering their admiration is unbounded. "The American engineers overwhelm with their calculations our expiring architec-

to discriminate: "Let us listen to the counsels of American engineers. But let us beware of American architects." And he produces in pictures, most crushing

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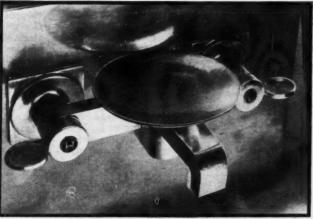
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For only in purely functionalist building, such as engineering works, grain elevators and factories, where economy forces our designers to stick to essentials, have we realized the possibilities of our new technologies. Not a single skyscraper has been worked out purely in terms of steel construction, with scientific solution of the problems of enclosure, light and ventilation, an elimination of all non-structural decoration, and a full exploitation of the possibilities for beauty latent in these vast rectangular masses; such relentlessly logical planning, for instance, as in some of the unrealized projects of Frank Lloyd Wright, and some of the actual structures of Robert Mallet-Stevens. And this is said in full appreciation of the progress shown in many recent buildings, notably the Daily News Building and the Empire State Building in New York City. While such a beacon as the Chrysler Building, glittering with ornament like a Christmas tree, has no more to do with the modern spirit than that nearby "Gateway to a Continent," cannot we let their practical efficiency and their sound and economical construction win through to the light of day? We do this in some instances, with splendid success; why not always? Why can't our radio cabinets be as well designed for their purpose, and as satisfyingly honest, as our Frigidaires, and why can't our living rooms be in as good taste as our bathrooms?

This happy consummation will be reached when people realize that the design of any product must, now as always, be determined by the answers to three questions: What is it for? What is it made of? How is it made?

An artist should add nothing but beauty to the thing he designs. First of all in fact he strips it of all its nonessential elements, so that its answer to those three crucial questions may be patent; and then out of the essential factors left he builds his harmonies and



Designed by Jenson for International Nickel Co. THE MODERN BATH FIXTURE

ture," says LeCorbusier. But he is careful 'his contrasts, his stresses and his balances, and makes the most of the innate qualities of his materials. And he may have the satisfaction of knowing that it

was not otherwise that Phidias or Michelangelo or any other truly classic artist worked out his problems of applied design.

For the modern school and design aims at the reëstablishment of the great classic and functionalist tradition. And now that we have got hold of this sound principle once more, we shall certainly cling to it until its possibilities as applied to the techniques of this Machine Age have been fully explored. There will be good modern design and bad, of course, successful and unsuccessful trials, and the usual proportion of wholly ignor-

ant blunderings; but all these failures and futilities, this crop of jagged lines and uncomfortable angularities, will be forgotten. And good mod-ern design, like all good design, will last.

## Lloyd George: Liberal Leader

By HENRY W. NEVINSON

From Foreign Affairs, Spring 1931

R. LLOYD GEORGE has now been a member of the British House of Commons for forty years. For seventeen of those years he held high office, and for six of them he was a dominating influence, not only in his own country, but in Europe. He entered Parliament when he was twenty-seven, and his rise was rapid. He became Minister of the Board of Trade under Campbell-Bannerman at forty-three, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Asquith at forty-five, the first Minister of Munitions at fifty-two, Minister of War and then Prime Minister at fifty-three, after which he remained practical dictator till he was fifty-nine, when he fell-fell like Lucifer, as his enemies tell us, never to rise again. Of that no one can yet be sure, but in any case it is the career of a remarkable man that we are now considering, a man who for a time guided his country's destinies and whom no future historian can overlook.

Like other men, he must be judged as a whole, and in speaking of his nature one must always keep in mind that it is not English, but Welsh. Though he happened to be born in Manchester (1863), both his parents were entirely Welsh, and he passed his childhood and youth in a Welsh village with the typically Welsh name of Llanystumdwy, in Carnaryonshire. Owing to his father's early death, he was placed under the care of his mother's brother, Richard Lloyd, bootmaker and unpaid preacher, belonging to the sect of Baptists called "Campbellites" or "The Disciples of Christ." Thus by association he acquired a genuine sympathy with the working people, a contempt for the aristocracy of birth (there are few aristocrats in Wales), and a hostility to all clericalism, especially to that of the Established Church of England in Wales. He also imbibed a tendency to temperance drinks, for the Welsh as a whole are given to teetotalism, perhaps because they doubt their own powers of resistance to temptation. .

The outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914, swept away all other records and considerations. To Mr. Lloyd George it brought a change in convictions and the finest opportunity of his life. He had always been a pronounced pacifist, and but for the German invasion of Belgium he might have considered it his duty to join the tiny band of pacifist politicians, like Lord Morley and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Such an action would have involved a period of violent unpopularity and a serious check to personal ambition. But the violation of Belgian neutrality supplied to him as to many others a sufficient and even an honorable reason for plunging into the stream of warlike enthusiasm. Thenceforward the pacifist became the advocate of war to the extreme limit, the opponent of all negotiation, the popular champion of "a fight to a finish" and the "knock-out blow." . .

The gloom of the situation, the appalling losses on the Somme, the threat of the submarine warfare, the obvious friction between the War Minister and the General Staff, the secret letter of Lord Lansdowne to the Cabinet suggesting

## Leading Articles

that the time for negotiations had come, all gave occasion for what Mr. Asquith called "a well-organized, carefully engineered conspiracy" to get rid of him. The purpose was industriously furthered by Lord Northcliffe in the Times and the Daily Mail. Mr. Lloyd George then saw his opportunity and sprang. He proposed a War Council of three or four members, Mr. Asquith being deliberately excluded. He even resigned. He protested loyalty with tears in his eyes. One afternoon he refused the Premiership. That evening he consented, if Mr. Asquith would resign.

Asquith would resign...

He promised to bring the Kaiser to trial, to make Germany pay the whole cost of the war (which in his airy way he put at £24,000 million), to keep Britain for the British as a home for heroes, and regenerate the whole of our social system. To their credit, the Labor members withdrew from the Coalition, and joined in a feeble opposition with the relics of what had been Lloyd George's party, all other leaders gone.

Then followed Versailles, and the sowing of dragon's teeth for the crop of future wars. I can well believe that Mr. Lloyd George set out for the Paris Conference with every intention of moderation in dealing vengeance upon a

fallen enemy. But his mind was fluid. His ignorance of Europe was surpassed only by President Wilson's, and he was confronted by M. Clemenceau, whose knowledge was complete. . . .

In October, 1922, Mr. Lloyd George's period of supremacy suddenly ended. The election gave the Liberal Party only 55 members, and those divided among themselves. For one cause or another this remarkable man, who seemed formed by nature and upbringing to guide the progressive movement in this or any country, had brought to ruin the great historic party of progress. The ultimate reason I believe was expressed in a letter sent to Mr. Asquith (Lord Oxford) when Mr. Lloyd George refused to attend a meeting of Liberals to discuss the "General Strike" of 1926. A body of the Liberal members of Parliament wrote:

"We have done our best in the interests of Liberalism to work with Mr. Lloyd George in the councils of the party, but we cannot feel surprised at your feeling that confidential relations are impossible with one whose instability destroys confidence."

So now, after the election of 1929, he stands as nominal leader of something under 60 in a House of 615, and most of those distrustful and disgruntled.

"Fallen cherub, to be weak is miserable, doing or suffering." But Mr. Lloyd George, though fallen, is not exactly weak. He waits his moment to spring, and whenever he chooses to spring, down falls the present Labor Government. Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike, he sniffs at the sops held out by the Labor Ministry-Alternative Vote. Free Trade, or what-not-and bides his time. The Liberal Party still contains men of outstanding integrity and political wisdom-Sir John Simon, Sir Herbert Samuel, Mr. Runciman, and others. It is a party of generals without troops, but Mr. Lloyd George remains Com-mander-in-Chief. He holds the balance, always threatening to turn the scale for Labor's defeat, but uncertain whether he hates the socialists of Ramsay Mac-Donald's party more than the protectionists and landowners of Mr. Baldwin and the Lords. I cannot imagine that he hopes ever in his lifetime to see the party triumphant at the polls, or even running second. But he holds the power of a kingmaker, though he will not again be king. He can enjoy the "Schadenfreude" of dragging down other Governments, and I can hardly doubt that he will indulge in that enjoyment within the next six months.

## Germany's Place in the Sun

By ADOLF HITLER

From the Illustrierter Beobachter, Munich

NLY A sufficiently large piece of this earth can guarantee freedom to a nation. Nor can one determine, merely by the needs of the present how much elbow room a nation requires. One cannot even determine it from the relation between the amount of agricultural produce and the size of the population. A nation's territory is important not only as the source of nourishment for its people. There is also a political and military consideration. Even when a people is assured its living by the extent of its lands, it must consider the security of those lands. This security rests on the strength and power of the state, which in turn is largely determined by the military aspects of its geographical situation.

Only as a world power, therefore, can the German people fulfill its destiny. For nearly two thousand years our more or less successful foreign activities were world history. We ourselves are witnesses of this past of ours, because the gigantic struggle of 1914-1918, though we call it a World War, was merely the struggle of the German people for existence on this planet.

Germany went into the fight as a supposed world power. I call it "supposed", because in reality she was not a world power. Had Germany's proportion between her territory and population been different to what it was, she would have been a real world power and the War—if we disregard all other factors—could have been brought to a more favorable end. It is not my task to enumerate the "ifs" and "buts". I have to relate dry facts and make apparent the frightful weakness of the nation, in order to deepen the insight among the rank and file of the National-Socialist movement.

Today Germany is not a world power. Even if we could overcome our imposed military helplessness, we cannot claim that title. What on earth can such an artificial structure as the present Reich represent, with its deplorable disproportion between area and population? In this age when the surface of our planet has gradually been divided up among the powers, some of which stretch almost over whole continents, an artificial structure like present-day Germany cannot be recognized as a world power. Germany's political boundaries have been reduced to a mere five hundred thousand square kilometers.

Compared to the area of so-called world powers, the area of the Reich disappears absolutely. England cannot be referred to as a contradiction because the British Isles are nothing but the metropolis of the British Empire. Representatives of enormous powers are the United States, Russia, and China.

France, too, must be counted among these powers. She not only replenishes her military forces by the draft of the colored population of her Colonial possessions, but through the influx of Negro blood into her population she is on the best way of becoming an African power upon European soil. The Colonial politics of present-day France are not to be compared to the Colonial politics of old Germany. Like everything else, the Colonial politics of the old German Empire were only half-heartedly undertaken. The territory needed for German settlers had not been provided for; a strengthening of Germany's position through the criminal procedure of mixing Negro blood with white had never even been considered by the German government.

TODAY WE FIND several powers which have outgrown the German nation not only in population, but which possess in their territory the foundation for their strength. Never in history has the relation between Germany and other nations been such an unfavorable one as it was at the beginning of history, and as it is again at the present time. Then, as a young and vigorous people, we came upon a world of disintegrating states—the last of which, Rome, we helped to hunt down. Today we find ourselves in the midst of fast

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#### growing powers. The Reich is weak. It is of the utmost importance that we face this truth unflinchingly, and that we look back through the centuries and compare the area and population of Germany to the area and population of other nations. And I feel quite sure that in doing so everybody will come to the conclusion that Germany is no longer a world power, no matter if she is militarily strong or weak.

That we lost our connections and relations with the other powers on earth could only happen in accordance with destructive leadership of the nation in

## **■Leading** Articles

foreign affairs, as well as in the absence of any predetermined goal in our foreign politics and the absolute loss of any healthy instinct for self-preservation.

If the National-Socialist movement is to become a mission to our nation, it will have to fight unflinchingly and determinedly against aimless and incapable political forces that up to now directed our foreign relations. Regardless of traditions and prejudices it will have to put the nation on a road that will lead out of the present-day restrictions of boundaries, that will lead to more territorial possessions, and will forever free our nation from the danger of perishing and from the slavery of toiling for others.

The National-Socialist movement will have to overcome the maladjustment between the number of the population and the territory required to feed it; between our historical past and the insecurity of the present state. The National-Socialist movement must always remember that as guardians of humanity. we are bound to the greatest responsibility toward mankind. The National-Socialist movement will be able to adhere to this duty if it succeeds in bringing the country to its senses.

## Foretelling the Business Trend

By ALVAN T. SIMONDS

President, Simonds Saw and Steel Company

From Industry, March 21

y assistant John G. Thompson and I have for over ten years been studying carefully and intensively every possible phase of the relationship between money rates, business activity, security prices and commodity prices.

For three years we have been broadcasting the proof of the statement that since the War every major swing in business activity has been forecast months in advance by major swings in money rates. The most convincing proof that we have given has been the accurate forecasts published months in advance. Every major swing including the impending revival through 1931 has been forecast correctly. This revival will take place unless the unfailing forecaster of the past fifty years fails to function as it has for every major swing during that time.

Mr. Thompson and I are convinced of the accuracy of the following statement. The reader can test its accuracy by studying the charts shown herewith:

During the past fifty years, major swings in money rates have forecast

accurately, months in advance, every major swing in business activity, i. e. fourteen upward swings including the boom of 1929 and fourteen downward swings including the depression of 1930. Sales planning, production planning and budgeting could have been based upon these forecasts without an emror in the forecast in any instance.

We are firmly convinced that failures to forecast coming booms and depressions since 1884 at least would be inexcusable except on the ground that before the War accurate and reliable data were not collected and reported promptly. In general, business executives are not students of such data. They have had little use for theory. Economics has too often meant to them only a dismal science of no earthly use except to provide positions and salaries for teachers of the subject. Statistical research they have looked upon in much the same manner. Yet many large banks and outstanding business corporations have for years with profit planned their activities on the basis of such research.

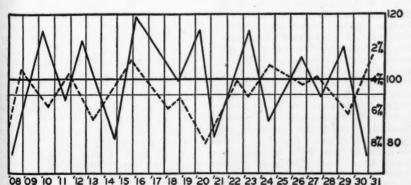
The announcement we make in this

article is astounding. It would seem incredible, preposterous, if made as an opinion of anyone or of any group however great and learned. It is not a guess or an opinion. It is the statement of what the recorded facts show. Anyone can verify it by studying the facts and the charts. A knowledge of it is a factor of the highest importance in avoiding future depressions.

We are planning to show that money rates have forecast months in advance every bull market since 1891, except the bull market beginning in 1893 following the money panic of that year, the bull market beginning in 1908 following the money panic of 1907 and the bull market beginning in 1918 when the end of the war was evidently foreseen by stock market operators.

From February, 1930, to December, 1930, there was a sharp downward movement in the volume of industrial production. Charted, this looks like the downward movement on the left hand side of a capital V. The present slowly rising volume when completed and charted will look like the right hand side of the V.

Those whose incomes depend upon industrial production and business activity reached the abyss of discourage-ment in December, 1930. This discouragement has been increased by the hypnotic influence of the calendar year on business editors and writers who because of this influence compare the months at the bottom of the V on the right hand side or rising side with the months a year earlier which are at or near the top of the V on the left hand side. The volume of industrial production in February, 1931, was about 25 per cent. lower than that of February, 1930. This, however, is not the important consideration at this time. What business managers and those who derive their incomes from business activity need to be told now is that the bottom of the depression was doubtless reached



MONEY RATES FORETELL BUSINESS ACTIVITY

Each rising line in money rates—the broken line—is approximately paralleled some months later by a rising line—the solid line—in business activity, and vice versa. Thus turns in money rate have indicated coming turns in business activity. Prepared by Mr. Simonds from charts of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

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## **■Leading Articles**

in December, 1930, and that since then there has been a slow rise.

Comparisons by calendar years of business (which moves in waves not synchronized with the calendar years) or of any month in one calendar year with the same month in the preceding or the following calendar year are nearly always misleading. This is of course not necessarily so if one is on guard and thoroughly versed in statistical analysis. But this is not the case with the average business executive who reads business columns at such times as this with fear and trembling. When he might be led to see a ray of hope which would give him more courage and greater strength to fight, he is usually given more verbal pictures of the slough of despond from which he is struggling to escape. On the other hand, when in boom times he is touching terra firma only with his toes, pictures of the "new era" in which all will be free from the effects of gravity are impressed upon his fevered, airminded brain.

# Walter Lippmann on Depressions

Business depression is not included in the list of calamities from which the prayer book begs deliverance, yet the present unhappy cycle with its attendant miseries of hunger and despair might well find such a place. The current calamity is neither a visitation of nature, nor one of the tragedies of human conflict. But it demands detailed study and attention, according to Walter Lippmann of the late New York World, writing in Vanity Fair.

Says Mr. Lippmann:

"It is the mysterious character of the thing which brings such hysteria and irrationality. For the untrained mind cannot endure the unknown; it insists on a reason, however bad. Thus if scientists tell us that they do not know the cure for a certain disease, that disease will invariably be exploited by the quacks. For where the disciplined mind responds to the unknown with humility and suspended judgment, the naïve mind responds with the science of the ignorant, called superstition.

"The first impulse in dealing with mysterious evil is to find a scapegoat, as for example, in America Mr. Hoover, in Britain Mr. MacDonald, in Cuba, Brazil, Guatemala and other points east, west, south and north whoever it is that happened to be in office when the crash came. There are also such wellknown scapegoats as the Russian Soviets, always available to certain types of mind as the cause of almost anything, and among Communists there is always the capitalist system to blame things on. Then there are the international bankers who are a kind of omnibus scapegoat for Congressmen, and there is Congress which is a fashionable scapegoat among

business men. I am glad to report that this crisis has not yet been attributed to the Pope, but of course, if Alfred E. Smith had been elected in 1928, millions would now be unalterably persuaded that Pius XI had sold the Protestant world short.

"At the more rational levels of the public mind . . . are those who think they have found or expect that they will find a particular germ which causes the disease and a specific remedy which will kill the germ. They feel that there must be some central source of the troubles about which, once it is located, something effective should promptly be done. They are not agreed as to what the exact trouble is nor on the remedy, nor indeed as to whether anyone knows the trouble or the remedy. They are agreed, however, that it is the kind of problem which could be cured by a specific remedy applied to a specific cause. . . .

"The remedy cannot be a cure, but simply the improvement of judgment in the light of increasing knowledge, better communication, and a heightened sense in each man of his own disposition to make errors. It is a depressing conclusion for most minds to accept. It offers so little certainty for the immediate future and opens such a tedious prospect of patent self-discipline. To a nation which has tried to cure intemperance with a constitutional amendment, and war with one treaty, and poverty with instalment buying, the conclusion that millions must gradually learn to appraise facts more accurately must be peculiarly uncongenial. It is so uncongenial, that most of these millions will ignore it, and then will find it impossible to believe such things can happen when sometime in the next ten years another panic breaks out."

# Advice from a Businessman

TRAINED AND ORDERLY MINDS." That is what the future will demand of men, according to Leonor F. Loree, who was interviewed by Arthur H. Little for System. Some of Mr. Loree's positions have been: President, Baltimore & Ohio; president, Rock Island; chairman of its executive committee and of the St. Louis & San Francisco; president, Delaware & Hudson and its thirty-four subsidiaries and affiliates; director of the Erie; director, National Railways of Mexico; director, Chase National Bank; director-also president and treasurer-Agfa Ansco Corporation: director and trustee, American Surety Company of New York; president, National Employment Exchange; director, Wheeling & Lake Erie; director, Mexican-American Steamship Company; director, Mexican Central Railway and of the National Railroad Company of

When Mr. Loree's older son went into

railroading he entered it by the accounting department, for the father knew how important accounting was, and he wished his son to learn its principles and practices at first hand. Mr. Loree believes that a man's career is largely shaped by chance, and that he should be prepared by training and equipment to take advantage of the opportunities that come his way.

The railroad executive speaks of certain details of human behavior that reflect fundamental traits of character. He discusses the habit of clock-watching which he regards as a telling index to a man's character. The executive does not worry especially over the loss of time engendered by such a habit, but he does realize that the employee who is qualified for advancement is not a clockwatcher.

"'The rule is simple—and it's old. But it's not passé. We may have found methods to measure a worker's efficiency in terms of accomplished results. More or less scientifically, we can measure skill and aptitude. But the qualities of the intellect and of the heart that are called initiative and interest and loyalty and enthusiasm—these we cannot measure except through interpretation of the man's behavior.

"'The man who is training his mind in an orderly way is the master, always, of his task. His desk, when he leaves it at night, is clear. His job, when he leaves it, is shipshape. It must be, or he'll not leave it. And the law of averages would seem to prevent him from leaving it that way, every day, promptly on the stroke of five.'"

# Business and the Racketeer

F EUSINESS MEN want to abolish the racketeer they can do so, declares Bruce Smith in Nation's Business. After extensive studies of state and local police departments, notably in Chicago, Mr. Smith has come to the conclusion that business itself is largely to blame for the racket.

To understand this one must understand what the loosely-used term racketeer really means. "The real sphere of racketeering is extortion, aided by threats or violence, from absolutely legitimate business," writes Mr. Smith. 'Real or pretended services are rendered in return for cash. Such services may include the intangible benefits that accrue to the victimized business man through the association which he is forced to join. He may even console himself that he has lessened competition and gained a measure of immunity from government regulation. Perhaps fifty lines of business are affected, sometimes to their advantage; sometimes to their decided disadvantage.

"The rackets began to operate in the first instance against small retail tradesmen who were defenseless against ccountew how wished d pracbelieves aped by repared ke ad-

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men, public garage owners and the like were 'organized.' After the police had heen 'fixed' it was a simple matter to bring pressure to bear upon such as these." t come

for high stakes, and it is here that he may be defeated. The construction business was one of the first under attack. Notorious among Chicago racketeers was Sam Parks, who is thought to have been brought to New York by one of the builders themselves, who wanted to harass his competitors. Parks undertook a reign of terror against the men working for rival builders. But these builders banded together and elected Otto M. Eidlitz to fight Parks with the aid of detectives. They had him convicted and sent to Sing

violent measures. Tailors,

cleaners and dyers, laundry-

But the racketeer is out

The man who submits to the demand of one racketeer must yield more and more, says Mr. Smith. Some firms have actually been

Sing, where he died.

forced to take in gangsters as partners in order to protect themselves.

One of the causes of our difficulties today is the unrestricted immigration of the past. Business demanded cheap labor which could be supplied by a certain class of foreigner. These green Americans were organized into gangs which eventually have given politicians power to override the will of the people.

Numbers of men have entered politics to fight these conditions, but other business men have become prominent in politics merely to protect their private interests. Where they are in a position to hire and fire "the boys," they find that their corporations are quite safe. They may not approve of what is going on in the form of graft, but what are they going to do? For one thing they could join with others like themselves and deal a death blow to the racketeers.

'They could do it over night," says Mr. Smith. "All they have to do is to order their mayor to order their police to go to work!

"Out in Chicago the business men have accepted the challenge of the racketeers. Through the Employers' Association and the Association of Commerce they have determined to behave as if the power they undoubtedly have, carried with it a legal as well as a moral responsibility.

'Col. Robert Isham Randolph, president of the Association of Commerce in Chicago, a consulting engineer, has just about dropped every other activity to focus his energy on this problem. There are separate offices, a staff of investigators. There is a secret six who provide funds generously and whatever

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W. J. Enright in the New York Evening World TO THE FINISH!

else is needed. Those six may be secret, mysterious, unidentified; but these terms cannot be applied to the body of public opinion behind them. This is the most hopeful sign on the American horizon just now. The real business leaders have concluded that it is time to interfere with the racketeers. In such a contest, ably led, honestly supported, the racketeers are bound to lose."

#### Life in a Russian Timber Camp

Sent out to inspect forests in Russia by a London trust company, J. F. Stewart, a consulting forest engineer and a university lecturer in that subject, has returned to write of it in the English Manchester Guardian. He is the only Britisher, and probably the only outsider with a practical experience of lumber camps, to make such a trip. He went wherever his work called him, without obstacle from the Government.

Mr. Stewart reminds us that lumbering is one of the roughest occupations in the world, and particularly rough in Russia; that no weakling can stand it, certainly not without preparation; that food is always scarce, and that cold is severe. He writes that "the camps are quite good, and mostly a good deal better than I have often built for my men and myself in other countries. They are constructed of heavy logs, caulked with grass. The larger ones have separate compartments for eating and sleeping, and drying clothes, and for cooking. They are well heated by flues from the cooking stoves,

and firewood, naturally, is plentiful.

"The beds are only one long shelf, about two feet from the ground and six or seven feet from front to back, and on these, without regard to sex, all the workers sleep. There is no bedding, but none is required, as the places are much overheated and the Russian worker does not undress. In the smaller camps there is only one large apartment for cooking, eating, drying clothes, and sleeping, but I have stayed in these and found no discomfort. I was not impressed with the food given me, black bread and weak tea, but it seemed all the food the people expected, and I must say they looked

"The work itself is not unduly trying to a healthy man who is used to it, but it can be deadly to the townsman or one who has not been brought up to it. The felling and trimming of the trees, and even the amount expected, as reported by refugees, would be

laughed at by, for example, a Scottish woodsman, who could do the whole day's work in a couple of hours and think nothing of it. To an inexperienced Russian I can well imagine the task set out for him to be impossible. . .

"It may be perfectly true that conditions are appalling in the lumber camps, that food is scarce, that thousands are dying from hunger, hard work, and exposure. But, if so, I can well imagine it to be the result of very faulty organization and from the inability of the average Russian official to cope with stern facts instead of theories."

#### A Frenchman Views His Cinema

Now that the talking movie tends to supplant in most theaters the silent art, it may be useful to determine the status of the latter and to point out the essential characteristics of its personality. For a long time the movies seemed to us an inferior art, beneath the notice of a cultured person with a taste for the esthetic. These animated photographs appeared to be particularly suited to the interests of puerile brains-of the masses. For aren't pictures after all the commonest way of exciting children and mobs? The explanation is simple. The power of suggestion in pictures abolishes intellectual effort. It imposes ready-made thoughts on the mind. And since simple folk think particularly in images, the movies were destined quickly to replace books in the eyes of ordinarily lazy men. .

"It might be thought at first glance that

### Leading Articles

if this art paralyzes the intelligence, perhaps at least it stimulates the imagination. But on the contrary, it limits it. A well-written page, a painting, a setting furnished by nature, offer to the imagination the point of departure for dreams that may grow and expand and become fertile. On the screen, no such thing. The rapid succession of pictures leaves no place for imaginative variations on the part of the spectator. The spiritual dynamic force of each one of them is instantly destroyed by that of the following one. And so the movies decrease our powers of comprehension and lead us to mental laziness.

So writes Maurice Chapelan, in La Revue Mondiale of Paris. For the real destiny of the silent art, according to this author, is in the realm of the fantastic and the esthetic. The low price of tickets can no longer explain the widespread popularity, growing popularity of the screen. But the advent of the talkie may quite conceivably end this "empire of the screen over the mob."

The laborer comes home at night, dull with fatigue, to a dirty home peopled by dirtier wife and children. After dinner on Saturdays they all go to the movies and for three hours forget the hideous ugliness of their environment. Here is a wonderful world in which the ladies are fair to see, the children clean and happy, the houses comfortable. worker identifies himself with the hero, in tune to the music and the darkness. The movie habit becomes chronic-like opium smoking-and when deprived of the stimulus, trouble comes. But:

"The talkies," says Chapelan, "are robbing the silent film of its essential characteristics; dialogue is ruining the prestige of pictures, reducing them to sec-ondary rank. The ridiculous conseondary rank. quence, which shows a fatal contradiction in terms, is this: from now on, a blind man may attend motion pictures.

#### American Trade in American Ships

A N adequate merchant marine is of importance in supplementing wartime activities of the United States Navy, despite the popular conception that importation of raw ma-terials is superfluous to our self-contained nation. Manganese, tungsten, tin, nickel, graphite, sodium nitrate, rubber, cork, iodine, hemp, jute, raw wool, silk, shellac, quinine, cocoa, tea, sugar, and coffee are among the products we would need to meet domestic requirements in case of war.

This is pointed out by Commander F. J. Cleary, U. S. N., author of an article in the United States Naval Institute Proceedings. According to Commander Cleary:

"The Department of Commerce, after a careful survey, has estimated that one out of every six of our citizens who are gainfully employed, depends for his living on our foreign export trade, so that the complete loss of our foreign markets

would directly create an unemployed list of about 2,900,000 citizens and the ramifications and the loss of business which would result from the loss of income of these nearly three million people would be widespread. This is an average of 60,000 for each state and, of course, there is a greater number of citizens employed in foreign export trade in a manufacturing state such as New York or Pennsylvania than there is in a state in which manufacturing is not such a primary interest.

"To compete successfully with other nations in the markets of the world, we need a merchant marine owned and operated by Americans. If anyone believes that we can depend upon a foreign merchant marine to serve our maritime and commercial interests properly, he is believing in an utter fallacy. In such case, the merchants and manufacturers of the United States with their carriers owned and operated by their foreign competitors, would be in precisely the same status as the Standard Oil Company of New York would be if it depended upon the shipment of its products on ships and railways owned and operated by the Royal Dutch-Shell Oil Company, or would be in the same status as Wanamaker's of New York if it depended upon the receipt of its shipments and the delivery of its merchandise to its customers in New York and vicinity on delivery trucks owned and operated by R. H. Macy & Co., or

by Bloomingdale Brothers. "At the outbreak of the World War in 1914, the British and French withdrew a great number of their merchant ships for war service and all German ships remained in port to avoid capture by the British and French cruisers. In a very short time the piers and warehouses were full to overflowing, shipments could not be unloaded from railroad cars, the railroad terminals and the railroad lines leading out of those terminals for miles were filled with cars which could not be unloaded and the loss to American shippers ran into hundreds of millions of dollars. A great part, if not all, of which loss would have been avoided had American ships been available for American goods.

#### In Leningrad's Atheistic University

A NTI-RELIGIOUS classes in Russia were discussing methods to counteract the celebration of Christmas when George M. Day visited Leningrad. Reporting his findings in the Christian Century, Professor Day says that first he attended a class in the state university. Here students were being urged to conduct an anti-religious educational campaign during their holidays.

'Christmas is a myth," said the professor, "since in reality Christ never existed." His arguments were based on a book, "The Christus Myth," published in Germany about twenty years ago.

After the lecture Professor Day was

introduced to the students and asked them three questions. The first, what substitute had they to offer for religion, brought only one answer which was to the point. One man said that they offered the socialistic doctrines of Marx and Engels.

When he inquired how they regarded the social teachings of Jesus, the students replied that there were no such teachings, since Christ never lived. Granted that he had existed, one student remarked that his doctrines were altogether too mild. "He was not a classhater. . . . We need more drastic methods today," he said.

THE final question brought a burst of oratory. Dr. Day told the class of the impression which the works of Tolstoy and Dostoievsky had made on him. While he agreed with them in a drive against superstition in religion, he thought that in discarding the religious thought of such men they were destroying the wheat with the chaff.

"Then followed a deluge of replies, in which the professors also participated," writes Dr. Day. "As for Tolstoy and Dostoievsky, they were all right when in their literary prime. But when, in his old age, Tolstoy turned to writing religious tracts, his influence as a literary figure waned. The same was true of Dostoievsky. As for my own religious convictions, they were passed over in respectful silence. However, in a stirring speech at the close of the two-hour discussion, in which the utmost good will was expressed toward the visitor-and this was evidently shared by the students-the professor in charge of the class and also head of the department could not refrain from saying as a friendly parting shot that he was sure he would receive a hearty welcome in any city in America, should he present his ideas there. But he said reproachfully, 'Your government will not allow us communists to enter the United States.'

At the Workers' Atheistic University, Dr. Day met two interesting classes, one for teachers and another for workers and soldiers. While one teacher expressed concern in the empty space left in the school program by the absence of religion, another quickly remonstrated that the children were well satisfied without it. Said the Director:

"Our program is positive rather than negative. We are committed to the great task as educators of building the socialistic state. We teach and live the doctrines of Marx and Engels. Religion, as one of the obstacles obstructing our path, is removed. We stress the positive side of our work rather than the negative."

"These were not fanatics but serious, sober-minded, earnest teachers looking for light and inspiration for their work," says the writer. "The young professor was humble, devoted, highly intelligent and tolerant."

The same earnestness existed among the worker students. "Let the old people keep their religion," was their idea. "As for us, we will follow science, and our new gods, Marx, Engels, and Lenin."

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# Waiting for the Stork



Life Publishing Company has graciously permitted this reproduction of William Balfour-Ker's "The Hurry Call", first printed in LIFE, December 3rd, 1904.

THE nation will pay a special honor to its mothers on May tenth. Presents and tokens of family love will make Mother's Day memorable.

But while more than 2,000,000 women passed safely through childbirth last year, 16,000 died. More than 10,000 of these women might have been saved if they had received proper prenatal and maternity care and skilful assistance. What was not done for them, however, can be done for prospective mothers.

The one way and the only way that a woman can escape some of the hazards of motherhood is to consult a doctor skilled in maternity cases immediately after she receives her first message from the stork, promising a most precious gift.

Or if, for financial reasons, she is unable to consult a physician, she will probably find in most progressive communities a MaternityCenter where she will be given sympathetic and expert guidance. She may be told that she needs a change of diet, or more rest. She may require immediate medical or surgical care.

Her doctor or the Center will explain the laws of nature which she must obey in order to avoid needless suffering—perhaps tragedy. And she will be given necessary instructions for

safeguarding her baby as well as herself.

Every woman who is to become a mother should have an early physical examination, including a blood pressure test and other tests invariably given in the great institutions which are teaching the world how to avoid dangers and anxieties formerly considered inevitable. These institutions have proved that modern scientific attention will reduce the deathrate among mothers more than two-thirds.

The mother-to-be should remain under her doctor's care, or under the guidance of the Maternity Center, until the stork has kept his promise and this happy message can be sent out—"Mother and child are doing well".

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company will gladly mail free, "Information for Expectant Mothers", and a booklet describing the work done at a well-conducted Maternity Center. Ask for Booklets 531-V.



#### METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER, PRESIDENT

ONE MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

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A skillet serves as a prospector's pan in the most recent gold rush to San Francisquito Canyon, California. A day's work pets anywhere from a few cents to eighty dollars. The nugget pointed out in the photograph at the left, is worth from fifteen to twenty dollars. Except for the automobiles, scenes in the canyon are reminiscent of former days in the state.

Gold in Relation to Prices

By GEORGE E. ROBERTS

Vice-president, National City Bank of New York; member of the Gold Committee of the League of Nations

HERE ARE DIFFERENCES of opinion among economists over the quantitative theory of money, but they relate to details rather than to the general principle that the purchasing power of money depends upon how much there is of it and how much work it has to domodified, of course, by the influence of substitutes and banking facilities which enable a given amount of standard money to serve as the basis for an increasing amount of credit and business. But when we have taken account of all the facilities which tend to increase the velocity of circulation and economize the use of money, there remains the fact that the entire system is based upon gold.

In this country the member banks of the Federal Reserve system are required to keep a certain percentage of their demand liabilities in the form of cash credits at the Reserve banks; and the Reserve banks are required to keep a certain percentage of their demand liabilities on hand in gold. If a customer borrows \$10,000 of a member bank and takes credit for it in his account, the deposits of that bank will go up \$10,000, and it will require a larger reserve in the Reserve bank. Even though the borrower may check out the \$10,000, his checks will be deposited in other banks with the same effect. In a time when business generally is expanding and using an increasing amount of credit, all banks will have rising deposits and will

be needing larger reserves and the Reserve banks will require larger gold reserves. Thus in the long run the ability of the banking system to increase its supply of credit is dependent upon increasing gold reserves, provided the general price level remains the same.

For some years before the War gold production had been at a very high rate, gold reserves all over the world had been increasing rapidly, and prices had been on a rising scale, which corresponds to the quantitative theory of money. Nearly all countries had adopted the gold standard. With few exceptions, whatever the name of a country's monetary unit might be, it consisted of a certain number of grains of gold, and by reason of this common relation to the grain of gold all gold standard currencies had fixed relations to each other. There are 23.22 grains of fine gold in the United States dollar, 113 grains of fine gold in the British pound sterling, and if you will divide 23.22 into 113 the result will be 4.8665/, which is the par of exchange

IS THERE a scarcity of gold? And has that scarcity, rather than increased production of commodities, led to the tumbling of prices? Mr. Roberts' analysis is part of a recent address before the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers.

between the two countries. The gold standard has given the world a common language of values.

Inguage of values.

The War broke up this relationship. The countries entering the War suspended gold payments immediately to protect their gold reserves, and others followed suit. Even the United States, strong as it was in gold holdings, placed an embargo upon gold exports. All countries that became involved in the War issued great quantities of currency or bank credit, in most cases with little or no relation to gold or each other's currencies. Wages and prices followed the fluctuations of the currencies in a general way, but wildly. The world came out of the War with great disorder in the currencies and exchanges.

However, after the War was over the countries all began to grope their way back to the gold standard as best they could, as the best means of establishing trade and financial relations with each other. Conditions varied, and not many countries that had been in the War were able to restore their currencies to their pre-War gold values.

Concurrently with, and even preceding, this movement back to the gold standard there began a general decline of commodity prices. It would seem that at this stage the decline might be attributed to the stabilization of currencies, the revival of the industries and the general restoration of peace-time condi-

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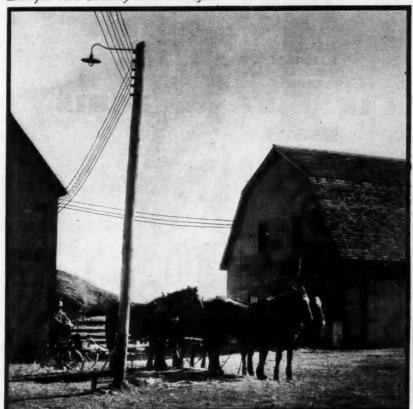
tions. But in the latter part of 1929 and continuing through 1930 even to the present time, there has been an almost precipitate fall of prices which has raised in many quarters the question whether the world's return to the gold standard was not forcing prices back to the pre-War level. Also, the question is raised whether the world has outgrown the supply of gold as the basis of credit—that is, whether the new supplies of gold are likely to keep pace with the expanding volume of business and the need for bank credit.

The argument that the general stabilization of currencies on a gold basis, with efforts on the part of the countries to increase their stocks of gold, has caused the decline of prices, may be stated in substance as follows: That with nearly all the world on the gold basis before the war, the free play of economic forces had resulted in the price level existing at that time, and that with the same nations now back on the gold basis the free play of economic forces may be expected to produce approximately the same price-level as before. Furthermore, it is pointed out that during the paper money régime a great rise of prices and wages occurred, which has necessitated the use of a larger volume of credit to handle the same physical volume of business at the price-level of recent years; also that the production of gold is less now than before the war.

This argument fails to take account of certain important facts. In the first place, a considerable part of Europeincluding Belgium, France, Italy, the territory included in the old Austria-Hungarian empire, also southeastern Europe, Poland, and parts of the Russian empire—has readjusted its monetary units to conform to the higher level of prices. Hence in those countries there need be no pressure upon prices on this account. Furthermore, and of greater importance, a large amount of gold coin, which formerly had been in hand-tohand circulation, passed out of circulation during the paper money régime and has been added to the central bank reserves. There, as the basis of paper currencies and bank credit, it is more effective in the service of business operations than it was in hand-to-hand circulation.

THE gold reserves of thirty-six countries at the date nearest to the outbreak of the War for which authentic figures are available aggregated \$5,253,000,000. The reserves of the same countries on June 30, 1930, aggregated \$10,500,000,000. This was an increase of approximately 100 per cent. That increase is much larger than the average increase of prices in any of the important countries, at any time since 1925; and when account is taken of the fact that gold in the central banks of issue is far more effective for all business purposes than gold in circulation, there does not seem to be much basis for the gold scarcity argument as applied to conditions to this time

The gold scarcity explanation of falling prices is varied by the maldistribuElectrified Farm Served by Tri-Utilities System



# Electric Aides for Farm Aid

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#### Finance

tion explanation. If "maldistribution" means a distribution different from that which would have occurred if there had been no war, it may be accepted as an important factor in much that has occurred. While the average increase in the gold stocks of thirty-six countries, including the United States, was about 100 per cent., the increase in the gold stock of the United States alone was about 180 per cent. The reasons for this increase are well known and are related to the War. Undoubtedly this abnormal distribution was to the disadvantage of business everywhere. It made credit scarcer and dearer in some countries. while in this country it became the basis of the greatest credit inflation ever known. There is good reason for thinking that it did as much harm here as anywhere; but however that may be, the consequences must be reckoned as part of the cost of the War rather than as chargeable to the gold standard.

It has been said that these additions to our gold stock were "sterilized" or in some way locked up so that they failed to have their normal effects. Complaint is made that the gold standard has not been permitted to operate in the usual manner. Doubtless it is true that the effects of such movements of gold have been somewhat different from ordinary, but unfortunately for this country the receipts were not sterilized. The net addition to this country's stock of gold from June 30, 1914, to June 30, 1929, was somewhat less than \$2,500,000,000. In the same time the loans, discounts, and investments of the banks increased by \$37,500,000,000, or \$15.5 of bank credit to each \$1.00 of gold added to the stock.

When account is taken of all the credit which was absorbed in operations outside of regular industry and trade, in the years from 1923 to 1929, all other influences upon the price of money appear practically negligible. The production of gold in the world last year was approximately \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 less than in the year 1913, but the amount of bank credit released from loans on securities in the last sixteen or eighteen months in this country alone has been about \$7,000,000,000.

T SEEMS TO ME to be a fair question whether if the production of gold had been \$50,000,000 or \$100,000,000 greater in every one of the last five years, with the attractions of the speculative markets what they were, the additional gold would not have been used in the same manner as the available supplies were used, with the result that speculation would have been carried that much farther and conditions today would be that much worse.

The argument supporting the theory of a scarcity of gold lays down one proposition which is assumed to be fundamental. That is that while price changes in single commodities, or in a number of commodities, may be due to the ordinary play of supply and demand, universal or general price changes must be accounted for by changes made in the price equation on the side of money.

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#### Finance

This proposition is challenged in many quarters, and I venture to say that it is disproved in every period of business depression. A downward price movement is characteristic of every period of business recession.

**S** UCH CONDITIONS are significant of some derangement in the industrial or distributive organization. The modern industrial organization is a highly specialized and complex system. It is a grand system of exchange, and in order to work effectively it must be in balance, with all its parts working in right rela-tions to each other. The purchasing power of every group of producers is in its own products or services, and the usual relations between the different offerings must be maintained in order that the exchanges can be readily made. In nor-mal times industry is kept in a fair state of balance by the fluctuation of prices in response to the law of supply and demand. But if the industrial equilibrium is disturbed to any abnormal degree, so that the markets do not clear themselves by the exchanges, products will pile up, prices will fall, and the entire organization will be thrown into confusion.

The War caused an enormous derangement of normal industry and trade. The situation in wheat illustrates this derangement. Before the War, western Europe was accustomed to obtain an important part of its wheat supplies from Russia. The War cut off those supplies and also reduced production in western Europe, with the result that increased demands fell upon the wheat-producing countries outside of Europe-Canada, the United States, Australia and Argentina. A great expansion of wheat-growing occurred in these countries, and with Europe coming back to the volume of prewar production there has been a gradually increasing carryover of wheat from year to year. Now Europe, including Russia, has fully recovered her pre-war production and Russia is threatening to much exceed her pre-war exports. The price of wheat falls, and the purchasing power of wheat producers falls, affecting the prices of all goods which they are accustomed to buy.

Sugar is another staple commodity which affords a like illustration. Before the War the production of sugar in the world aggregated about 18,000,000 or 19,000,000 tons, about one-half from beets and one-half from cane. The War swept over most of the beet-sugar districts of Europe and nearly destroyed the industry there. As a result, the cane-sugar industry in the tropics, was stimulated and greatly expanded. Now Europe is producing more beet sugar than before the War, the total production of sugar is up over 50 per cent from what it was in pre-war years, there is a heavy accumulation of stocks, prices have fallen and sugar-producers everywhere are in distress and unable to buy their accustomed quantities of other products.

I might go on with many illustrations of derangements directly traceable to the War and each making a contribution to

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#### Finance

the present world situation. The results, however, are practically shown by a statement recently made by Prof. Henry Clay, a well-known economist of England, regarding that country's foreign trade. Mentioning the fact that Great Britain's imports consist chiefly of foodstuffs and raw materials for the industries, he said that for the year 1930 the average price of imports was only 18 per cent. over the pre-war level, while the average value of British exports was 51 per cent. above the pre-war level. This would seem to be a sufficient explanation of the falling-off of British trade.

#### We Question Springfield, Mass.

ON OR ABOUT the 1st of April several representatives of this magazine were asking questions of representative business men and women in the city of Springfield, Mass. Was there, they asked, any sign of renewed business confidence? Was the talk of unemployment, of economic depression, exaggerated? Springfield is the center of a region that is partly manufacturing and partly agricultural. In common with the rest of New England, that region was aware of business depression before 1930; but on the other hand its tobacco and other crops had escaped the severe drought of last summer.

To a hundred men and women of Springfield our first question was propounded: "Is there any sign of renewed business confidence?" Ten, only, answered No! Eighty-seven replied that there were signs, eighteen of them going so far as to add that the signs were considerable. Three of our hundred had no opinion.

A separate question, somewhat personal upon this point of confidence, was this: "Have you courage now to buy luxuries?" Fifty-six said Yes and twenty-five No. The nineteen who failed to answer belong presumably with the Noes.

"Is the extent of unemployment commonly exaggerated?" Fifty-seven thought that it was; forty-two were willing to accept, from their own observation and knowledge, the seriousness and extent of unemployment. The persons interviewed, fortunately, were not themselves out of work. It might be emphasized here that more than half of our answers indicated a feeling in Springfield that unemployment in general was not as extensive as rumors would make it appear.

"Is the extent of economic depression exaggerated?" Here the majority who answered said No, though the vote was close: forty-nine No, forty-eight Yes.

One question brought answers that were divided in the ratio of 19 to 1. "Has the dollar increased in purchasing power?" Five out of our hundred representative business men and women of Springfield had discovered no sign of the lowered cost of living; but the ninety-five others had.



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#### ==Finance===

#### Sugar and Oil

S OME SAY that there is no present condition of over-production, that it is merely one of under-consumption. Whichever school of thought is followed, the result seems to be about the same. The Government cries aloud to the wheat farmer and the cotton planter, to reduce acreage. Next harvest time will yield the answer. In sugar and in oil steps have actually been taken to curtail production. Seven of the world's largest sugar-exporting countries reached an agreement at Paris on April 10. Five of them are beet-sugar countries of Europe - Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The other two are Cuba and Java. An existing world surplus of 3,000,000 tons of sugar is to be marketed in an orderly fashion over a period of five years. Meanwhile an export quota has been assigned to each country, and not more than that quota can be exported unless the price exceeds two cents a pound.

A stabilization plan for oil, worked out by representatives of ten oil-producing states of the Union, was informally approved on April 9 by four Cabinet members who make up the Federal Oil Conservation Board-the Secretaries of the Interior, War, Navy, and Commerce. As Secretary Wilbur pointed out, these representatives of the ten oil states were appointed by the Governors and not by the industry; and they stand for the control of waste and for the protection of the public interest through conservation laws. There is a long road ahead, for such a compact as is planned will require action by the legislatures and will be laid before Congress for ratifica-Curtailment measures are now partly in effect in the three great oil states of California, Texas, and Oklahoma. Production in March was perhaps 250,000 barrels a day less than in the same month of 1930, in spite of the fact that a new bonanza field in East Texas was upsetting that state's curtailment plan.

#### **Bonus Loans**

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O<sup>N</sup> APRIL 4, five weeks after the passage by Congress of the bill increasing the loan basis of service certificates, applications for new loans reached a total of 1,723,551. Applications had thus been received from just half of the 3,498,000 veterans holding the bonus certificates. During that week ending April 4 the Veterans Bureau mailed 262,793 checks, for \$100,923,500. This was an average loan of \$384 for each man who applied. But it should be remembered that with the vast majority it was the second loan that had been advanced on these service certificates; for the new law merely increased to 50 per cent. of the face value of the adjusted compensation certificates a loan provision which previously amounted to 221/2



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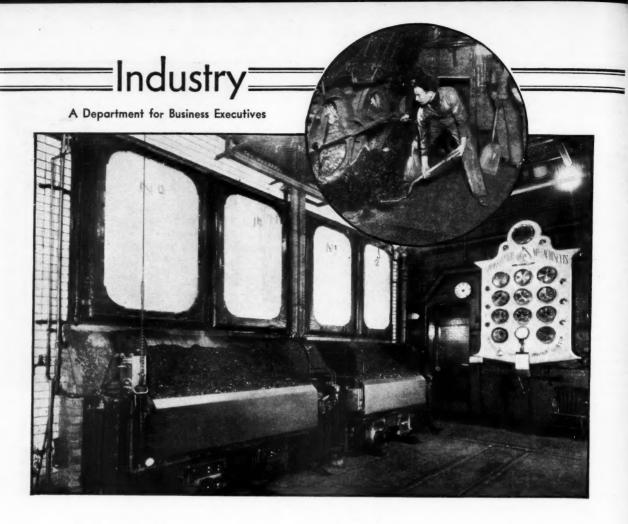
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Review of Reviews Corporation, 55 Fifth Ave., New York City



## There's Money in the Boiler Room

THE PICTURES above tell their own story. And mechanical stokers usually pay for themselves within two years

NATION'S industrial activity today can be measured by its consumption of power as expressed in kilowatt-hours. It cannot be measured in terms of fuel consumption, because fuel consumption has decreasedrelatively-thanks to increasing efficiency in converting the chemical energy of fuel into mechanical energy. The fuel problem is of vital concern to everyone in industry, because it is fuel that turns the wheels. Yet comparatively few executives realize the wide-spread possibilities of the coal pile—for whatever the undoubted achievements of oil and natural gas, coal is still the basic fuel.

It is believed that coal was used by the Britons before the Roman occupation, 55 B.C. The first record of the use of coal, however, is in 852 A.D., when the Abbey of Peterborough acknowledged delivery of twelve cartloads of coal. The first coal produced in the United States was mined in Richmond, Virginia, about 1750; and coal was used to good advantage in manufacturing arms and ammunition during the Revolution. Coal consumption has grown

from 304 pounds per capita in 1820 to 13,167 pounds in 1918. Coal is still the largest single item hauled by the railroads, accounting for practically one-fifth of the total number of cars hauled during 1930. In 1918, 684,709,084 tons of coal were mined in this country. During the boom year of 1929, 534,989,000 tons were brought out of the ground. During the depression year of 1930, 461,630,000 tons were produced.

With the cost of fuel ranging from 15 to 25 per cent. of the payroll cost and sometimes more, what are executives doing to cut this item? Often it can be slashed 25 to 40 per cent. The truth is that many are doing nothing, for they do not look upon their fuel bill as something which can be analyzed and treated to surgical operations as are bills for the raw materials used in manufacturing. Their factories are upto-date, their offices equipped with the latest labor-saving devices, but their power plants are antiquated, using boilers and other apparatus that may be twenty years old and even older.

Nevertheless it is nowhere possible to earn such big dividends as in the boiler rooms of these heating or power plants. Installation of the newer forms of heating equipment will sometimes pay for itself in six months. Usually it will do so within twelve or sixteen months, and invariably so within two and a half years. This does not necessarily mean a heavy outlay from the capital account. In most factories it merely means adapting existing equipment to harmonize with the machine age. It means equipping old boilers with mechanical stokers so that they receive their fuel mechanically and automatically instead of by hand, wastefully and blindly.

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Perhaps the chief reason why so many power plants are allowed to remain hand-fired, neglected and run down, is because management has not yet learned to look upon boiler rooms or power plants as part of the property. The responsible executives do not appreciate the fact that the boiler room manufactures heat or steam, that fuel is the raw material, and that the factory principles of efficiency can be applied. They have adopted a bonus system of wages, and materials control for pro-

82

### **Industry I**

duction. They know exactly each day's output in the factory. In the office they balance each day's sales, expenditures, shipments and inventories. But in the boiler room no tab is kept of the fuel burned or the amount of steam or power it produces. Men operate long hours under difficult conditions, and are often chosen regardless of their ability.

The cashier or accountant is placed under bond. Because he handles money, he must answer for every penny. The man in the boiler room handles money also-for coal is cash. But he is not placed under bond. He is given no books to keep, is rarely called upon to make a balance. No one checks him up day by day, or even month by month. Notwithstanding, the fireman may easily handle from \$50 to \$200 a day in coal. An executive walking through his plant would not hesitate to pick up a fifty-cent piece lying on the floor and return it to the cashier. He would not tolerate dimes and nickels left scatered about. But the fireman is allowed to waste one shovelful of coal in every four, because he reflects the indifference of management. Why so much attention to cash, but so much neglect of coal? There is no hand-fired plant in existence where coal consumption cannot be cut 10 to 25 per cent. by the adoption of modern coal burning methods.

WITHOUT mechanical stokers it would be impossible for the enormous plants of the central station companies to operate, because men could not handle the vast tonnage of coal that must be burned each hour. Mechanical coal burning makes such plants possible. Going to the other extreme, it is now possible and feasible to place the extremely small boiler room on an even more automatic basis than the large power plants. This may not always result in a direct labor saving, perhaps-because one man is always needed-but it enables the fireman to do other work. Attention to fires and the boiler room becomes merely incidental.

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Take an example. The None-Such Laundry, in the heart of Chicago's residential district, is producing its own electric power as well as its own heat, steam, and hot water, from a mechanically fired boiler. At 6:30 in the morning, the watchman turns a snap switch and the stoker starts up. The hopper is filled with coal; and from that time until the end of the day the automatic coal-burning system starts and stops as required, without attention or supervision. It maintains the steam pressure within a few pounds of the pressure required. The laundry has cut its fuel cost and eliminated its electric light and power bill-except for the lighting used during the night after the plant has shut down. The total savings the year round average \$250 a month. Yet the boiler capacity is only 150 horsepower, and the generator is rated at only 50 kilowatts. The entire plant is automatic. Except for the removal of



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ashes each morning, the firing requires no manual effort. The plant is smokeless.

The electric power is, of course, a by-product and costs practically nothing. This is a small laundry—the sort of plant that we are told is "too small to do anything with." But what is it doing? There are thousands of plants that could operate in the same way, many at bigger savings.

Throughout the coal-mining regions there is great activity despite the slackness of the industry as a whole. The coal-mine operators are modernizing their plants. As shafts are sunk deeper and haulage must be made over greater distances, it becomes increasingly important to keep down the power cost. Coal operators used to think that because the coal cost them nothing they could afford to waste it. Today they know that the more coal they save, the lower their power cost. The capacity of their mines is correspondingly increased. Moreover, the cost of their coal should be based upon the market price at which it could be sold rather than the cost of getting it out of the ground. All of which explains why many coal operators are modernizing their power-plant equipment by installing automatic coal-burning systems under existing boilers.

The Nelson Creek Coal Company of Nelson, Kentucky, is a typical example of what can be accomplished. company operated three hand-fired boilers of 150 horsepower each, and needed a fourth unit. To install this additional unit would necessitate moving a steam engine and electrical generator-the cost of moving equipment being almost as great as the cost of the new boiler. Besides, the equipment could not be spared. The problem was solved by equipping two of the existing boilers with an automatic coal-burning system. The two coal-burning systems cost about as much as a new boiler. But the installation was exceedingly simple.

Here is what happened: This company is now able to carry the load that three hand-fired boilers could not handle upon two mechanically fired boilers. Each unit carries 300 per cent. of load whenever it is required. Instead of burning coal which it could sell for \$1.35 per ton the company is now using the "bug dust" which falls through the screens and which formerly the company had to pay to have hauled away during certain times in the year. It has eliminated one man in the boiler room, has done away with the use of seven men for half an hour each day for putting coal into the coal bunker, and has increased the daily capacity of the mine some 230 tons a day.

The coal now used is a waste product. It is automatically carried ninety-seven feet to the boiler-room coal bunker by a belt conveyor. Here it is stored, falling by gravity into the stoker hoppers. No labor whatever is required; and the coal is never touched after it has been loaded by the miners into the tipple cars at the bottom of the shaft.

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### ■Industry

This installation is paying for itself over and over again each year, even at the present relatively low prices for coal.

To cite the experience of another coal operator: A Nashville, Tennessee, producer of steam and domestic coals was hand firing two 260-horsepower boilers. He was using twenty-two tons of fourinch steam coal a day-which could be sold for \$1.15 to \$1.50 a ton, depending upon market conditions (on which a freight charge anywhere up to \$2 a ton would have to be paid by the ultimate consumer). After installing an automatic coal-burning system this company was able (1) to produce all the steam required with one, instead of two boilers; (2) to use only fifteen instead of twentytwo tons of coal every day; (3) to use one-half-inch coal with a market value of 55 cents a ton instead of the fourinch coal it could sell for \$1.15 to \$1.50 a ton; (4) to take one man out of the boiler room for work elsewhere. Here a seventy per cent. money saving re-sulted solely from the installation of an automatic coal-burning system.

If a coal producer having no haulage charges or middleman's profit to pay finds it worth while to cut fuel consumption, how much more worth while is it for those who must pay freight charges and profits for coal operators and dealers hesides?

#### How Do You Make Your Crates?

Do you use crates or packing-cases? Are they engineered, or just put together so that they get by? There's a lot of difference—in cost of lumber, in charges for freight, and in expenses for damages. Many large shippers now employ a crating engineer to design their crates so that they are strong enough yet not needlessly heavy; and to use the construction and materials that will provide the lowest ultimate cost. That is a different matter from the lowest cost per crate.

A typical example will make this clearer. One large manufacturer and exporter of automobiles who formerly used Southern yellow pine for sheathing on export cases, decided to test out Idaho white fir. This wood was chosen because of its lesser weight, making possible savings in freight cost on shipments from factory to seaport.

Careful records were kept for two and a half years after the change. These showed that 17¾ million feet of this stock were used, at an average initial cost of \$1.25 per thousand feet more than the prevailing prices on yellow pine. However, a net saving in freight to seaport of \$3.25 per thousand feet was realized. A total saving of \$57,687.50—a monthly saving of \$1922.90—resulted.

This lighter weight lumber was softer, consequently easier to work, and produced a better-appearing case. Theoretically the wood is not so strong as yellow pine. But it is strong enough.



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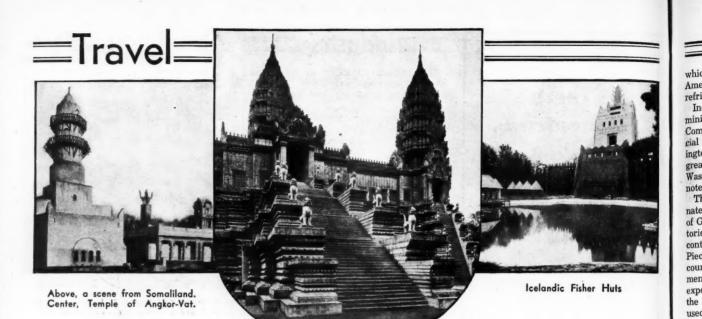
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## Around the World in Paris

HINDU temples, Icelandic villages, priestesses and gondoliers, are among the thousand spectacles of the French Colonial Exposition.

PARIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN a fair ground. Before Cæsar divided Gaul into its memorable three parts, wandering Celtic tribesmen bartered goods on the Ile de la Cité where the natural highway from northeast to south crossed the river Seine. In the centuries which followed successive markets, fairs, and expositions took place in the city, culminating in the exposition of 1889, which still survives in the Eiffel Tower, and that of 1900, which gave Paris its Grand Palais and Petit Palais.

This month the most spectacular of all is being opened. In the International Overseas and Exposition, France has contrived to put on display the art, industries, sports, educational systems, and cathedrals of the distant

peoples of the world.

The Bois de Vincennes on the outskirts of Paris has been a modern Babel during the past few months. Icelander and African, Filipino and Chinese, worked side by side building reproductions of representative monuments of their civilizations. Now everything has been completed and between May and November thousands of visitors will see the minarets of the Taj Mahal rising above the palm-leaf roofs of an African village; a Senegalese wedding, or a Congo baptism; the dancing priestesses of Cambodia, and a thousand and one other sights from the far places of the earth.

The business depression may prevent you from taking that long planned world cruise, but you can afford to go as far as France, or you can make Paris a stopping place on your European tour. Fast steamship service and reduced ratessome of them especially low for this oc-

casion-make even a two or three-week vacation abroad profitable. Added to these inducements, the French Government has passed price-fixing regulations so that tourists may not be exploited, and has extended the Paris subway system to the exposition grounds.

For a long time this fair has been a pet idea of the great French colonizer. Marshal Hubert Lyautey. Although the area of France in Europe is considerably smaller than that of Texas, and though her population is 40,000,000, her colonial empire reaches from Indo-China to South America and is second only to that of Great Britain. In these rich terri-tories live 60,000,000 French and native peoples. Recently the development of their natural resources and the resulting increase in wealth has been a great asset to France, and has called her attention to future possibilities. Therefore the exposition is a governmental rather than an industrial affair, and \$30,000,000 has been appropriated for expenses.

The French Government sent invitations to other nations with colonial, mandatory, or provincial possessions, to take part in her project. Among those which are presenting exhibits are Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, and the United States. Marshal Lyautey, who is the High Commissioner, emphasizes the fact that the exposition is educational as well as entertaining. He believes that such contact between the peoples of the world will hasten friendship and peace by demonstrating that there are more profitable fields of international action than war.

The Bois de Vincennes is a wooded park surrounding Lake Daumesnil. Here

in pre-republican days Marie Antoinette flirted with the young Lafayette. Possibly as a result of that friendship the Queen influenced Louis XVI to help in the American war for independence. However that may be, the feeling of good-will between France and the United States harks back to those days. France has always taken part in American fairs, and is preparing to enter the Chicago exposition of 1933. So Congress accepted the invitation, appropriated \$300,000 for American expenses, and President Hoover appointed C. Bascom Slemp, former secretary to President Coolidge, as Commissioner-General.

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SIX BUILDINGS which contain exhibitions of the United States, the Philippines, Virgin Islands, Hawaii, Alaska, Samoa, Porto Rico, and Guam stand on a hill which slopes to the lake. The main building is an exact reproduction of Washington's home, Mount Vernon, on the Potomac. Under the direction of the architect, Charles K. Bryant, every detail in the colonial architecture has been carried out to perfection, and the furnishings in the most important rooms also duplicate the originals.

Of particular interest to the French is the Lafayette bedroom on the second floor, where the general stayed while visiting Washington in 1793. There are also gifts of Lafayette, the bronze weather-cock surmounting the building and the ponderous iron key to the Bastile. The rug in the west parlor reproduces that woven by order of Louis XVI as a gift to the first President. Portraits, chairs, and tables have been copied and bear the marks of age. Behind the walls of the huge kitchen

#### Travel

which was cut to scale, is a modern American kitchen, complete with electric refrigeration and electric range.

Included in the mansion are the administration offices of the American Committee, and living rooms for the official hostess, Miss Anne Madison Washington. Miss Washington is a greatgreat-great-grand-niece of George Washington, and will entertain guests of note at the French Mount Vernon.

The furniture in the house was donated through the Furniture Association of Grand Rapids, and selected at the factories by the hostess. Sears Roebuck contracted to put up the building at cost. Pieces were cut and numbered in this country, and erected by French workmen under the direction of American experts. Tools had to be imported, for the French were amazed at the methods used in building a frame house. They soon adopted new world ways, however, and to the surprise of the contractors ran up the flags of the two countries when the roof tree was completed.

After the exposition Mount Vernon will be taken apart and shipped to Chicago for use in 1933.

In the other American buildings are displays showing the growth and development of the overseas possessions of the United States. The Philippines have spent \$50,000 in addition to the congressional allotment, to make their exhibit colorful and elaborate. Among other things they show a pictorial and plastic working model of the city of Manila as seen from a point in the harbor. The lighting is arranged so that day fades into night and lights in the city buildings twinkle in the blue darkness

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THE TEMPLE of Angkor-Vat, built of massive blocks of stone with relief and carving decorating the façade, and countless steps, is one of the architectural wonders of the world. It has been reproduced in all its vastness at Vincennes; and the stone walls, treated with chemicals, seem as ancient as those of the original. The history of Angkor-Vat is shrouded in mystery. It was built by the Khmers a thousand years ago, but has been buried in the jungles of Cambodia for more than 700 years. Then French colonizers rediscovered the lost city of Angkor-Thom and rehabilitated it.

As a memorial to the 1931 exposition, Paris will inherit the Permanent Colonial Museum, a simple, dignified building, with a colonnade of thirty slender pillars reaching to the pediment. An immense bas-relief by Janniot on the windowless façade, reviews life in the principal French possessions. Within are docu-ments, archæological and geographical specimens, an aquarium, series of paintings, moving pictures, etc., all relating to the colonies.

What many believe to be the most beautiful building in the world is also to be seen in Paris. This is the Taj Mahal, built of whitest marble, and surrounded by formal gardens. Wealthy maharajahs and princes of India gave large amounts of money to pay for the

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#### Travel

expensive construction. Crown jewels of Aga Khan, one of the donors, as well as examples of Indian culture and industry, are on view in the Taj.

Literally there are hundreds of equally important buildings and exhibits to be seen. On the one hand are spreading ceremonial pagodas from French Guiana, then a Tunisian village with its bizarre mosque, fishing huts of Iceland, and the Bucrane tower from Madagascar, surmounted by a ram's head. The land-scape surrounding each aids in the wonderland illusion. There are icebergs and jungles, deserts and palm trees, stately gardens and avenues.

Thousands of natives from all corners of the earth are at the exposition not only as visitors but to entertain you. Toddling children learning their first letters show how they are educated in the tropics; Malgache boatmen chant rowing songs as you loll in a gondola on the lake; there are the royal Cambodian dancers, priestesses who had to have permission from their king to make the journey to Paris; colonial Olympic games; theaters, and cafés where, in ninety languages, you are invited to eat.

Altogether you will find plenty of diversion at the Exposition; and your trip around the world can be made entirely in the Bois de Vincennes.

#### The Cornish Coast

THE PEOPLE of Cornwall are fisher folk, suntanned, blue-eyed, and friendly to the stranger. They are of Ivernian and Celtic blood, descendants of privateers who were once the terror of Brittany. Now they live in serene little villages, surrounded by the wild scenery of England's southwest coast.

Describing a motor trip through their country, Philip R. Noble says in *Travel*: "I crossed the river Tamar, which is the boundary line between Devon and Cornwall, on a ferry which is guided across the river by two chains running along pulleys on each side of the hull just above water level. Leaving Saltash, on the Cornish side of the river, I set out for Looe through an undulating country of tall hedgerows alive with crimson ramblers, of fields of corn waving their golden sheen from field to field, of pasture land scattered with cattle, of glens filled with ferns and stately trees."

East Looe and West Looe are built on two sides of the estuary, connected by an ancient bridge with thirteen arches. There are white-washed houses with gray roofs, and big ships which stand alongside the pier with its banjo-shaped end. From the cliff behind the town is an excellent view of the Cornish coast. Once trade, legal and illegal, thrived in this little port, making it a hive of excitement and adventure. Today all is quiet. Old seasalts sit on the quayside, smoking their pipes and offering boats to tourists.

A rough road runs from Looe to Polperro. Here the writer put up his car, because the streets were too narrow and steep for driving. The harbor is a deep cleft between the hills, and as one nears the quay, streets become more and more irregular, and the steps to the white stone cottages are chipped out of the rocks themselves. Seagulls perch on the red chimney pots or on the tall masts of fishing boats, and swoop down on their prey in the harbor.

From Polperro the journey led the writer through Fowey, of historical naval fame, to the tiny village of Polruan, and thence to Truro. Truro is an ancient market town with 10,000 inhabitants, the seat of a cathedral and of the social and intellectual life of the duchy. A stream of water, the river Kenwyn, runs continually through the streets, keeping them perfectly clean.

Typical Cornish towns along the coast are Marazion, Newlyn, and Mousehole. Beyond is Landsend, a barren promontory of greenish rock, battered by the churning sea. Next comes St. Ives, named for an Irish princess, St. Ia, who was martyred there in 450. But of all places worth visiting along the Cornish coast, if only one may be chosen, is Tintagel, according to Mr. Noble.

"The approach to the castle is through a deep ravine," he writes, "at the bottom of which there is a chasm separating the mainland from what would apparently be an island, if it were not for the fact that it is connected to the mainland by a narrow wedge-like strip of rock. I looked up at the towering mound upon the top of which are the ruins of the castle. Three men could easily defend it from the attack of a large army, for the only access to the castle is over a very narrow strip of land on each side of which there are sheer precipices dropping down to ragged rocks.

"Little remains of the former magnificence of King Arthur's castle. There are ruined walls of the keep, the remains of the chapel of St. Julitta, King Arthur's seat, and an ancient well. Otherwise there is no trace of former glories, and as a poet has said, 'He must have eyes that will scale Tintagel.'

have eyes that will scale Tintagel." "Tintagel is the logical climax to a visit to Cornwall. After climbing over its rugged cliffs and dreaming of its heroic past, one returns to modern England reluctantly but with memories that will last a lifetime. Tintagel symbolizes the majesty and grandeur of Cornwall."

#### Japanese Utopia

Tokyo or Yokohama lies the little island of Hatsushima. Boats passing there note the sandy beach washed by indigo waters, and the clusters of fishing vessels off shore. Otherwise there is no sign of life on Hatsushima.

Hidden behind the foliage on the sheltered side of the island is a primitive Japanese village, where forty-two families live communistically. There are never more than forty-two, because only mag:
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#### Travel

the eldest son in each house may marry and live on the island. All others seek their fortunes elsewhere, according to ancient custom.

Describing Hatsushima in the Japan magazine, George R. Hyde says:

"The houses are typically Japanese of course. They line two sides of a long narrow street. At the farthest end stands the temple and beside it the graveyard. There are no stores, no theaters, or other places of amusement, and no refreshment parlors. There is, however, the public bathhouse, without which no rural Japanese community would be complete."

The natives live a simple middle-class existence, carrying out the traditions and customs of their ancestors. There is not a person who cannot point out the graves of his fathers six, seven, or even eight centuries back, in the island cemetery. The village government is communal, and each family, according to its size, is allotted a piece of land for cultivation. While the men fish, the women raise vegetables, and after the individual needs have been supplied, the surplus is sold or exchanged for goods on the mainland. Profits are put in a central treasury for the common good.

ods of business depression, no strife, no quarreling," comments the writer. ever there was a Utopia, it is Hat-

No wonder tourists find pleasure in visiting this land of yesterday.

#### Coast to Coast By Air

San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other cities of the Pacific Coast are now within a day and one-half air journey of New York. During April a twenty-eight hour eastbound, thirty-one-hour west-bound service was put into effect by the National Air Transport and Boeing Air Transport companies. Passengers leaving New York at 9 a. m. in the tri-motored planes are scheduled to arrive in San Francisco, 2770 miles away, at 1:18 p.m. the follow-

Reclining adjustable chairs with individual reading lamps, and pillows and blankets for those who want to sleep, are provided for the night flight. Some of the meals are served in the plane and others at ground stations. The fare is approximately eight cents a mile.

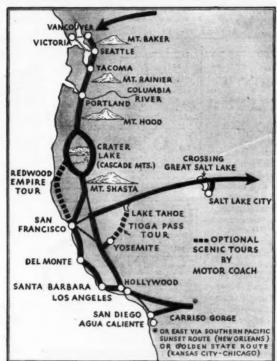
#### Spinning Wings

(Continued from page 59)

blade itself carries the load to the rotor hub. This hub, the heart of the machine, has two ball bearings instead of the one necessary to carry the weight of the machine, and an emergency bearing besides.

The standard airplane has a speed range of roughly twice its minimum (Continued on page 92)

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(Continued from page 89)

flying speed. If it will stall (i.e., cease flying and fall off in a spin) at anything less than 50 miles an hour, then its highest possible speed will be something over 100 miles an hour-say 120 at best. The present autogiro, by contrast, has a speed range of from zero to 25 miles an hour in descent, and from 25 to 125 miles in level flight. Momentarily it can hover in one place. It is this reduction of necessary forward speed that makes the autogiro safe.

No man has been killed—yet—in an autogiro. Once in 1925 an experimental model lost a rotor blade, because the present method of hingeing them loosely to the rotor hub had not been worked out. It flew unevenly for a while, then shook off the opposite blade, and the pilot landed in a crash. He had broken his wrist-the most serious injury received in autogiro flying thus far.

This record of safety does not imply that we can look forward to freedom from injury when we take to autogiros. The careless American nation, which last year killed 32,500 of its citizens in motor accidents, may be relied upon to kill others if it takes to autogiros. Anyone can fly an autogiro into a high-tension wire, run it into a mountainside in a fog, or go into a power dive so fast that it will shake itself apart. But no one needs to-just as no one needs to smash his car into a telegraph pole.

Then, too, so long as gasoline is used as fuel, fire is possible. So long as men are human, structural failure is possible. The only assurance against that, as with any man-made machine, is the integrity of the manufacturer.

James G. Ray, the soft-spoken Texan mail flier who is now a vice-president of the Autogiro Company of America, puts it this way:

"When we start training beginners in flying autogiros, we will have to teach them everything that is now taught in a good flying school. But there is this difference: we won't have to drill them over and over again in each maneuver until we are sure they can do it perfectly. All we will have to do is show them what to do.

"In an airplane, when a man makes a mistake, the chances are that he will never make any mistakes again-because he will never do anything again. But an autogiro will forgive a multitude of sins.

"In our present-day flying schools, nine-tenths of the time is spent in getting the student to do the necessary maneuvers without losing flying speed, and to perform the delicate operation of landing. In a 'giro you cannot lose flying speed. If you try to pull it up into a stall, or if your motor cuts when you are in a steep takeoff, the hitherto inevitable crash does not follow. All that happens is that the machine settles slowly straight down to earth."

To date some sixty-odd transport pilots-holders of the government's most advanced licenses-have flown the American autogiro. So have a handful of private-license pilots, since the regular airplane pilot can fly an autogiro without further training. But at this writing

no man who knew nothing about flying in the first place has yet been trained on an autogiro.

Unofficially the government has begun to consider setting up a new kind of flying license-that of autogiro pilot. Physical examinations would be less strict, and requirements as to time put in and proficiency demanded would be loosened. Once that happens, or probably even if it doesn't, the American company will set up the world's first autogiro school. Training will not be given on the present three-place machine, but on a lighter, two-place sport model powered with an engine of 120 horsepower. Much of the experimental work on these smaller ships has been done. Five steel fuselages for the first lot have recently been transformed into finished machines on the factory floor at Willow Grove.

The makers themselves do not yet know what these lighter 'giros will cost, but point out that they should not be much more expensive than the standard airplane of like power and quality. The well-built plane in this category now costs something more than \$5000. Eventually, perhaps, wide use will bring manufacturing economies and lower prices. But a cheapness comparable to the automobile is out of the question. So far as can be seen now, the precision necessary. together with the constant fight to keep down weight, mean continued expensive construction for all kinds of aircraft.

The autogiro now on the market carries a pilot, two passengers, and gasoline and oil sufficient for a flight of 300 miles. It has a 300-horsepower Wright Whirlwind motor and the usual duralumin propeller. The rotor has a spread of forty-five feet. Controls are like those of the standard airplane, the ailerons which provide lateral movement being mounted at the rear of a stub wing-put there for that purpose and to provide support for the landing gear. The present cost is \$15,000, which compares with \$13,500 for the same maker's standard mail plane powered with the same motor.

This mail plane, an efficient craft, has a top speed of 144 miles an hour compared with the 'giro's 125. But its landing speed is 60 miles an hour. In this it suffers by comparison, whereas it shows to advantage in flying efficiency. The present autogiro is about one-tenth less efficient, for fuel consumed, than the standard plane. It offers more resistance to the air.

Also it has to carry a starter for the rotor, a system of gears, shafts, and clutches by which, on the ground, the engine is made to bring the rotor to the 120 revolutions a minute needed for flight. Before taking off, this clutch is disconnected. Either forward or downward motion of the craft as a whole will, thanks to the aerodynamic principles behind the rotor, keep it spinning. In flight the motor is used exclusively for pulling the whole craft forward, as in the standard airplane.

This rotor-starter weighs sixty-five pounds-an item that prevents carrying that much more in baggage or fuel. But it is the secret of the 'giro's ability to take off in less than a hundred feet. In the experimental days a rotor could be started spinning only by taxying the 'giro



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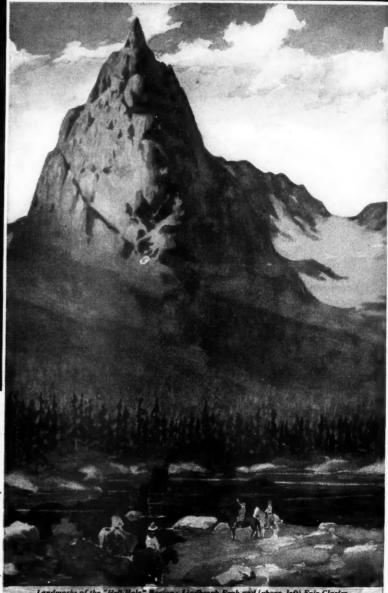
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about on the ground a mile or more. Experimental work has kept the autogiro off the market until now, with some eighty different ships marking the prog-ress of the last eight years. The autogiro originated in the mind of the Spanjard Juan de la Cierva, who set about finding a means of slow flight when a three-motored bomber of his design lost flying speed and crashed near Madrid in 1919. Four years' application of his mathematical genius perfected the theory of autogiration, and in 1923 the first autogiro flew. Since then experimental work has gone on in Spain and in England. In England the need for complete hingeing of the rotor blades, so that they can move in all directions from the rotor hub, was worked out. It is in England, too, that the principal work in scientific research on the autogiro principle is being done.

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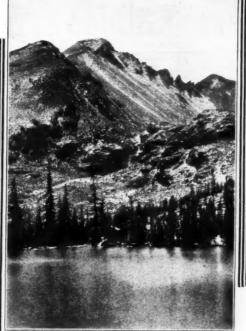
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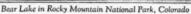
By 1928 the autogiro began to attract attention. In September of that year Señor de la Cierva first flew it across the English Channel, and the following month it was brought to the United States for the first time by Harold F. Pitcairn. Mr. Pitcairn, according to an apocryphal story, was as a boy chastised by his father for jumping out of a window with a pair of wings made from a bed sheet. At sixteen he took up flying, and in 1924 he went into the business of airplane manufacturing. Three years later came a profitable venture in pioneering and operating the air-mail line between New York and Miami.

Now you can find him in the corner office of the Autogiro Company of America, of which he is president. "I had always been on the lookout for something like this," he says, "and when the autogiro came along I took notice. It was in 1925 that I saw my first autogiro, in Spain. But it took me a long time to become convinced that it really amounted to something."

When three years later Mr. Pitcairn brought the first autogiro to this country, he acquired the exclusive patent rights for the United States, and prepared to grant licenses for their manufacture. He founded the Autogiro Company of America to do this, but has made no attempt to market the machines until convinced they had been developed to the point of being foolproof. Practical development, rather than scientific research duplicating that in England, has been his aim. The present rotor-starter is his greatest improvement; and not until last fall did he declare the autogiro sufficiently foolproof to be manufactured and sold. Thus far only Mr. Pitcairn's airplane manufacturing company, Pitcairn Aircraft, Inc., and two others have been licensed to manufacture autogiros. These are the Kellet Manufacturing Co. of Philadelphia and the Buhl Aircraft Co. of Detroit. Neither

has as yet put its autogiro on the market. There—for the present—the story of the autogiro ends. We may leave it with the comment of one onlooker who, having seen it and flown in it, marveled. "The autogiro," he concluded, "does not tear frantically about the sky like an airplane. It flies like a plane that someone has patted on the back and told, "There, there, take it easy. Everything is all right."







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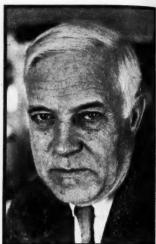
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## Personalities =





GREETING PRESIDENT HOOVER Left, part of the welcoming parade passing through St. Thomas, capital of the Virgin Islands, on the occasion of Mr. Hoover's recent visit. Above is Governor Paul Pearson.

Governor Pearson talks on

## Our Job in the Virgin Islands

An Interview by Chester Morton

Caribbean lies a group of many small islands. They are the easternmost tip of the West Indies. Christopher Columbus was the first famous man to visit them; their latest famous visitor was Herbert Hoover.

Columbus named them the Virgin Islands in honor of St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgin followers. Mr. Hoover, returning from them to the land of his presidency, named them an "effective

poorhouse.

Mr. Hoover need be concerned with only three of the islands-St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix-purchased in 1917 by the United States from Denmark for twenty-five million dollars. To accompanying newspapermen on the U.S.S. Arizona, steaming home from the West Indies cruise in March, the President seemed to suggest that the purchase price was just twenty-five million dollars too much. It may be recalled that in 1902 the price was only five millions. The United States in that year completed negotiations for the purchase, but the deal fell through when the upper Danish house blocked the sale.

Despite his statement, President Hoover by his acts has shown his interested sympathy with the unfortunate islanders. He has lately transferred jurisdiction over the islands from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior

and appointed Dr. Paul Pearson of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, as the islands' first civilian governor. When Dr. Pearson went to the islands he was accompanied by a staff of experts in various fields. What the President has done is to set up a model government qualified to assist the colonial people to economic safety and surety. Herbert D. Brown, chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency, was in St. Thomas at the time of the Presidential visit. It was his third official visit to study conditions and to suggest avenues of escape from depressing poverty. Mr. Brown is enthusiastic about the islands' future and believes that eventually they can be made prosperous.

Not disguised by island officials is the economic plight of the islands. Their only industries are the manufacture of sugar and bay rum. Agriculture is seen as the white hope for the islands; experts have tried to convince native farmers of the value of diversifying crops. "Native" is misleading, for the inhabitants are really not native. The Carib Indians whom Columbus found there were driven out centuries ago-their place taken by Negro slaves imported from Africa. The population is now 95 per cent. black. Amazing is the high degree of literacy, 98 per cent. Everyone speaks English.

The present governor of the islands ar-

rived to take office only eight days ahead of the President.

Dr. Pearson is 59, a Quaker. He appears short and stocky; he has snow-white hair above an alert and youthful face. Keen blue eyes look at you from behind glasses. This is his story, as he told it in his New York hotel room the day before he sailed for his new post:

"I was born in Illinois, but when I was four or five I went with my parents to Kansas—in a covered wagon. It was January and we camped out along the way. I can remember a little about it even now. My father was a merchant and he had decided to go west for his health.

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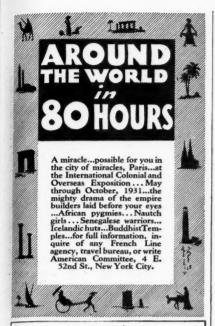
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"Eventually we settled in Cherryvale and there my brother and I went to school. We went to Baker University and afterward to Northwestern University at Chicago. Later I did graduate work at Harvard. After that I became an instructor at Northwestern."

"In what subject?"

"Speaking. In 1902 I joined the Swarthmore College faculty. And all the time I was giving lectures on the side, sometimes as many as a hundred or a hundred and fifty a year. Most professors, you know, have to add to their college salaries in some manner."

In 1912 Dr. Pearson organized the Swarthmore Chautauqua association. He had become acquainted with the chau-



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## ≡Personalities **=**

tauqua idea as a lecturer for a western circuit. There was in the East no traveling chautauqua and Dr. Pearson determined to start one. He obtained the backing of the Swarthmore College trustees, and after two or three seasons the chautauqua became markedly successful. It visited more than a thousand of the smaller towns in the New England and Atlantic coastal states. It was a non-profit making institution, depending on local committees in various towns to guarantee its expenses. In all there were more than 43,000 members of these local committees.

"When the War came," Dr. Pearson said, "these committees proved themselves most useful. You see, they were the only groups representative of the whole community. Other organizations were separated by religious or political or racial or social lines. But every one of these various groups had supported chautauqua. Therefore the chautauqua committee afforded a splendid cross-section of the community and they worked in all sorts of war drives."

It was as head of this large organization that Dr. Pearson obtained the administrative experience which suggested him as candidate for his present governorship, to which he was appointed by President Hoover.

"We hope to make the Virgin Islands a popular resort for both winter and summer," he said. "The climate is semitropical; the temperature ranges from 70 to 94 degrees, with an average of 81 the year round. We are planning to have a modern hotel built by next fall, and to start construction on golf courses soon. There are swimming and fishing and boating, of course, horseback riding and other sports."

It was suggested that two obstacles stood in the way of the islands becoming a popular resort: their greater distance from New York than Bermuda or Havana, and the fact that, as United States territory, they must observe Prohibition.

Dr. Pearson answered the first objection first.

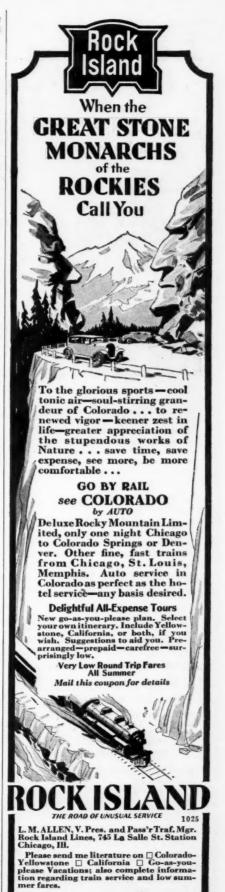
"They are not much farther from New York than Havana is, I believe," he said. "It is 1400 miles from New York, and I think it will not take appreciably longer than it does to go to Cuba.

"So far as Prohibition is concerned"— Dr. Pearson turned to look his caller squarely in the eyes—"this country is *Dry*. The people are *Dry*. There are thousands of persons who prefer going to resorts where they know they will see no drinking."

The Governor mentioned several conspicuously dry resorts in this country which are both popular and profitable.

which are both popular and profitable. "I am confident," he said, "that there are enough Drys to furnish us more than four times as many tourists as we need. Make no mistake," he added most decisively, "this is a Dry country. The big cities are Wet, most newspapers are Wet—the men who work on them are and always have been—but the country is not."

A Congressman had suggested to him that the islands need two things to attract tourists: a good race track and



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## Personalities

rum. Dr. Pearson does not wish that kind of tourist. He believes the islands can draw two classes of visitors—those who will return season after season, and the more casual tourist who wishes to go to a new place every vacation, if only for a week or so.

Governor Pearson is married and has four children. His son, Drew Pearson, writes from Washington on international subjects for the Baltimore Sun (and on one occasion for the Review of Reviews). Another son, Leon, is a teacher in the Haverford School. Miss Barbara Pearson is completing post-graduate work at Yale this year, and her sister, Miss Ellen, is in high school. Mrs. Pearson will join her husband at the end of the school term.

SUPPOSE YOU VISIT our newest possessions, what will you see and learn? You may sail from New York direct to St. Thomas either by the Furness West Indies Service or the Western Ocean Steamship Company. It will take you five days, perhaps a little less, depending on the ship. Or you may go to Porto Rico and from there to St. Thomas by boat or plane. Pan-American Airways fly a plane from Porto Rico to St. Thomas every Tuesday.

If you go by air, you will see three islands dotting the blue sea below you; St. Thomas and St. John close together, about the same size. St. Croix is forty miles to the south, three times the size of St. Thomas. St. Thomas and St. John are mountainous, with little level land; St. Croix is quite different. It is mostly a fertile plain with mountains only in the northern part.

St. Croix, the largest island—22 miles long and 6 miles wide in the center—has the greatest population, approximately 11,000. St. Thomas, only 13 miles long and 2 miles wide, has 9000 residents; and St. John, 9 miles long and 5 miles wide, has 765 inhabitants.

You will land at the city of St. Thomas on the island of that name, capital of the Virgin Islands. It has one of the most magnificent natural harbors in the world, with a background of mountains rising 1500 feet in an almost sheer line from the bay. It is a city of some 7000 population, most of the island's residents living here, and it is here the new hotel is to be built.

Those who wish to stay for a longer time can rent a house for any amount from twenty-five to sixty-five dollars per month. Most of them are roomy and comfortable, with modern plumbing, including shower baths. All are electrically lighted, and cooking can be done by electricity, though the cost is high. Oil stoves or charcoal fires are widely used, and native cooks prefer the latter. You can obtain a servant by paying from six to twelve dollars a month plus an allowance for meals.

The official money of the islands is Danish. When we purchased the islands it was agreed that the money issued by the National Bank of the Danish West Indies should be legal tender until 1934. Of course, United States money is acceptable anywhere in the islands, but the

official unit coin is the franc (19 $\frac{1}{4}$  U. S. cents).

If you take a car with you, perhaps it had better be a light one. Some roads in St. Thomas are too steep and rough to be easily traveled by motor, though they are being improved from year to year. Within the city limits of St. Thomas and to beaches and clubs the roads are in good condition. On the island of St. Croix the roads are excellent and motoring is a delight.

A FTER HIS RECENT inspection, President Hoover remarked:

"The Virgin Islands may have some military value some time. Opinion upon this question is much divided. In any event, when we paid \$25,000,000 for them, we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent. of the population."

The islands cost the United States approximately \$500,000 a year. The purchase, made under President Wilson's administration, followed rumors that Germany was negotiating for them with Denmark. Lying in direct line with the entrance to the Panama Canal, the islands were believed to have strategic importance.

Times have been hard for the Virgin Islanders. Between 1917 and 1930 the population decreased by 15 per cent. The chief reason is seen in the fact that after their land became American territory, free entrance into continental United States was possible for the islanders, eager for higher wages and better living conditions. Where a small minority of the people own the land, as in the islands, the colored laborers are really serfs.

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Remarks the U. S. Weekly Commerce Reports (for Nov. 24, 1930):

"The record of commerce and industry in the Virgin Islands during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, reveals a distinct economic depression brought about by a combination of factors, the most outstanding of which are the low price of sugar, the decline of the maritime activity of the port of St. Thomas, the prolonged period of drought, the lack of industries to occupy the people, and the steadily decreasing population. Some of these conditions are of long standing, and during the year 1929-30 the necessity for economic readjustment was keenly felt. . . .

"In St. Croix the sugar industry has been the main source of support for many years, the cattle industry being second in importance. Of two factories operating there, the larger one has discontinued operations owing to the chaotic conditions of the world sugar market, and the smaller factory has also been temporarily closed. The suspension of this vital industry has thrown about 1000 people out of work. Owing to the drought, the sugar production in 1930 was not as large as had been expected, only about 5750 tons of sugar being manufactured. Most of the 1930 crop is being carried in stock by the factories, as sugar prices were so low that exportation would have been unprofitable."

Various observers hold little hope for a revival of St. Thomas as an important refueling and provisioning port for

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## ■Personalities

steamships. With the advent of oil fuel in place of coal, and the greatly increased cruising radius of modern ships, the maritime activity of the port has been sadly curtailed. It is also pointed out that Prohibition is a factor in the port's decline; foreign ships will choose other ports rather than endure the nuisance of sealing their liquors, as they must when they enter St. Thomas harbor. Prohibition, too, has ruined the rum manufacturing in St. Croix, once a lucrative industry. President Hoover's statement to newspaper men omitted mention of that galvanic word, Prohibition.

Prohibition has not harmed the bay rum industry, according to Waldo Evans, the retiring naval governor. The essential oil of bay is obtained from the leaves of the bay tree, which grows luxuriantly on the island of St. John. Bay rum is made by mixing bay oil with rum or alcohol and water. "Generally speaking," says the former governor, "the Virgin Islands are now exporting nearly three times as much bay rum as during the best years before the Americans purchased the islands." (For the year 1924-25 bay rum sold and exported was 79,730 gallons; for 1925-26 it amounted to 85,148 gallons; for 1926-27 the number was 74,277. In 1928-29 the production amounted to 91,116 gallons, and for 1929-1930 the number was 108,182 gallons.) Most of the alcohol to go into the product comes from Porto Rico, some from St. Croix and the United States.

Bermuda onions, tomatoes, eggplants, and peppers, grown in the Virgin Islands, have appeared in New York winter markets. It is hoped that an extensive trade in vegetables may be built up as one means of allaying the economic distress. The United States Department of Agriculture maintains an experiment station in St. Croix, and a demonstration farm is planned with the purpose of encouraging the farmers to diversify their crops.

## Dictatorship for England?

AS A PROPHET arisen in Great Britain? This is the question many an Englishman is asking as he regards the radical demands of young Sir Oswald Mosley, backed by his heiress wife, Lady Cynthia.

Sir Oswald, aged 35, is described as a black-haired, Roman-beaked aristocrat of the British ruling class. His manner is distant and far from democratic. He inherited 3,800 acres of land from his father, a great Tory squire; and his wedding was the biggest English social event since the War. Educated at Sandhurst, the English West Point, he served creditably in the War as a lancer and later as a flyer. Since then he has been in Parliament, first as a Tory member, then as an Independent, finally as a Laborite from Smethwick. Now he is founding a "New" party all his own.

His able wife, Lady Cynthia, is 32. She is a daughter of the late Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (arch British imperialist) and a granddaughter of Levi



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Economic and industrial depression has given the Mosley family its opportunity. Hitler's German National-Socialists-who combine fascism and communism-were evidently in the back of Sir Oswald's mind when he announced the program of his "New" party. He advocates an emergency dictatorship of five supermen; a national planning commission to direct industry; an import control board on foodstuffs (instead of the existing free trade): commercial agreements with the British dominions; an ambitious program of public works for the 2,500,000 unemployed; a public utility organization to produce houses and building materials; and the postponement of war debt payments.

Thus the Mosley program combines dictatorial, imperialistic, and communistic features, aiming to attract proletarian and patriot alike. Oliver Baldwin, son of the Tory leader, and John Strachey, son of the biographer, have resigned from the Labor party to join the "New." Four hundred "New" candidates will be run in the event of a gen-

eral Parliamentary election. Great Britain has now seven parties: the regular Baldwin Tories, the empire-minded Rothermere - Beaverbrook Tories, the regular Labor party, the more radical Independent Labor party, a shattered and divided Liberal wreck, a tiny Communist organization, and the dictatorial "New" group. This latter declares in its manifesto: "It is impossible to meet the economic crisis with a nineteenth-century parliamentary machine."

The World War accustomed many millions to censorship and martial law, and out of its embers emerged the twin phenomena of fascism and communism with their governmental regulation of politics and economics. In nearly every European country the partisans of these systems have voiced their demands, but England up till now has remained true to its tradition of individual liberty.

Russia went dictatorial in 1917; Italy in 1922; others followed suit. Even in the parliamentary countries there are strong groups demanding dictatorship; Hitler's National-Socialists in Germany, Dmowski's National-Democrats in Poland, the late Primo de Rivera's Patriotic Union in Spain, the Heimwehr in Austria, the Awakening Magyars in Hungary, the Stribrny group in Czechoslovakia, the Lappo group in Finland, the royalist Action Française in France. England, due to the appearance of its "New" party, is confronted by the universal dilemma—democracy or dictator?

## Has Europe Settled Down?

Continued from page 56

unprecedented prosperity. In Britain and Germany the contemporary misfortune is superimposed upon economic disorders which have followed the war. Moreover, there is nothing in France to compare with the fundamental German revolt against the conditions of the peace treaties, nor with the economic disintegration which in Britain has with little interruption continued since 1922.

France is the first country I have visited in Europe which gives the impression of continuing and long continued contentment. No question of foreign relations supplies the basis for demagogic political agitation. France is utterly satisfied with the conditions established by the peace treaties, such dissatisfaction as exists simply arises over attempts of other nations to change these conditions.

In France the cost of living, outside of a few luxury hotels and Parisian restaurants, is cheap beyond any American conception. After Berlin and Warsaw the price of food, even on the Riviera, seems well-nigh incredible. In the rural regions there is nothing to suggest that the French farmer has as yet experienced anything to compare with the misfortunes which have well-nigh ruined the agrarian populations elsewhere.

The contrast between the French press and the German or British is one of the most striking phenomena of the moment. Even so sober and solid a journal as the London *Times* daily preaches the bitter truth that the life of the country is in danger, and the German newspapers

forecast utter national ruin following present misery and degradation. The French press, on the other hand, discusses foreign and domestic problems with a lack of heat which is the most complete since the war. One group of newspapers, the nationalist, repeats all the familiar attacks upon the Briand policy of peace, the other acclaims it—and nobody seems to be in the least excited.

It is true, I think, that events in Germany in recent months have served to arouse a certain apprehension in France. Not the old passionate anxiety of the immediate post-war days, nothing in the least like that. Nevertheless the French have seen with natural regret the development of the Hitler movement and the apparent rapid ruin of the whole Stresemann policy.

On the whole I should say that each year the recognition by the mass of the French people of the need of close and peaceful cooperation between Germany and France has grown. The numbers of the Germanophobes have declined and the vogue of the nationalist press and public orators has diminished. That the question of Alsace-Lorraine has disappeared, that the German people in the main desire peace, this the French have come to believe—or had before the Hitler explosion.

That explosion produced a sudden current of alarm and an instinctive drawing back. Beyond doubt French opinion has a little hardened and the possibility of

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concessions has been at least postponed. But it is impossible to exaggerate the extent of pacific feeling in France. After you have listened to Germans, Poles, and Italians talking on national questions, or heard Britons debating India, the passivity of the French on all national subjects is impressive.

Nevertheless there is not the smallest prospect that either now or at the forthcoming arms conference in Geneva the French will make any considerable concession to German opinion in the matter of land armaments. France is now disarmed down to the point where it means to stay until there has been a far-reaching transformation in the general atmosphere of Europe.

Relatively prosperous, at least suffering infinitely less from the world economic depression than any other country, politically contented, France gives an impression of calmness that one cannot discover elsewhere in Europe and, by contrast with the United States, domestic politics seem positively tranquil. The prospect of a presidential election, now soon to come, awakens no graver comment than an almost universal wish that the present incumbent, M. Doumergue, would agree to remain. If he would but say the word, there would be general relief, which again does not seem a situation recalling American conditions.

Of all the European peoples which were involved in the World War, it is now clear that the French have been the first to recover from its evil consequencesjust as they were, beyond debate, the greatest sufferers during the period of actual conflict. They have repaired their ruins, reconstructed their national fortune, called in foreign labor to replace their casualties and now, not yet thirteen years since the "cease fire" of the Armistice, the pre-war normal of life seems completely restored.

In fact, France is, at least as far as Europe goes, the one country which is in all ways better off than in 1914. She has recovered her lost provinces, regained a political ascendancy which vanished at Sedan, not only possesses the largest army in Europe outside of Soviet Russia, but is associated with most of the other armed states, who are her allies and followers. In addition, her financial situation enables her to exercise an ever growing influence through loans. She has be-come the banker of the Continent. Thanks to Briand, her influence at Geneva, which has become more or less the center of European affairs, is far beyond that of any other country. Indeed, only the British have anything approaching French influence in the League, and less and less frequently are there open clashes between the two powers.

F you go up and down Europe as I have been doing in recent months, meeting the statesmen and the press men and the private men of various countries and all varieties of human activity, nothing grows to be more impressive than the extent to which all agree in recognizing that for the time being the predominant position in this old continent belongs to France.

The basis of the Italian challenge of recent years, the fundamental conception of Fascism in foreign affairs, has been



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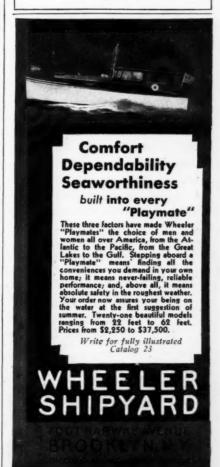
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that this so-called French hegemony has been responsible for defrauding Italy of her rightful place in the sun. The German holds France responsible for preventing that revision of the peace treaties which might enable her to recover the Polish Corridor. The Hungarian complains that a word from France would bring about a release of hundreds of thousands of Magyars turned over by the peace treaties to the Czech, the Jugoslav, the Rumanian. British Labor, at the last general election, assailed the Tories as having been towed in the wake of the French ship.

All of which amounts to a general agreement that for the present, at least, nothing can happen of real importance in European affairs save with French consent. Revision of peace treaties, reduction of armaments, economic agreements, all wait upon French decision. And of course this same situation exists in the equally important matter of reparations and debts.

All of which gives obvious value to the views which the French themselves hold of their own policy. Broadly speaking, one may say the French people are opposed to territorial revision. Primarily because they recognize that today in Europe it cannot be brought about without war, and secondarily because all pending proposals for important changes would be at the expense of the allies of France and would contribute to the aggrandizement of Germany.

Similarly the French are opposed to the reduction or abolition of reparations, and the concomitant cancellation of inter-Allied debts, leading to the ultimate wiping out by the United States of its claims upon its former associates of the War, because in all respects this would be disadvantageous to France. Today France gets vastly more than she pays, more than half of the total of German payments comes to her, and less than half her present taking of \$250,000,000 annually goes to her American and British creditors. Moreover, she can and does take payments in kind gladly, and absorbs them easily.

If Germany were relieved of reparations, France would lose upwards of \$150,000,000 annually. Again, once Germany were relieved of her payments, she would be free to spend huge sums on the reconstitution of her army and her navy if she escaped or repudiated the limitations put upon her by the peace treaties. Thus France has no interest in debt cancellation. No project such as that of Mr. Hurley, combining debt cancellation on our side with disarmament on that of France and her allies, would even obtain a respectful hearing.

Further reduction of her own military establishment is not, as I have said, in the mind of France. She will confront the world at the forthcoming armament conference, supported by all her allies, demanding that further reductions must be conditioned on the provision of further guarantees. As long as Germany refuses to accept as definitive her eastern frontiers, in fact as long as Germany challenges the existing system in Europe, France will insist upon the maintenance of the status quo as established by the peace treaties.

Thus, almost inescapably, French pol-

icy and German purpose are moving toward a direct collision at the next Geneva conference. Herein lies for France the chief benefit of the recent Franco-Italian-British agreement. It promises that the French will have little to fear from Italy, that France can hope for Italian as well as British support, against any German project for re-armament as an alternative to general disarmament down to the German level.

That is why France has a stand-pat policy. This policy expresses itself rather oddly in the Briand project for a Pan-European union, but there is no actual inconsistency; for underlying the Briand project is the French notion that the beginning of any new Europe must be the consecration of the Europe which exists. Economic coöperation based upon universal acceptance of existing frontiers—this is the basis of the Briand idea as it is of French policy. It seeks peace at all times but always through preserving the status quo.

Whether any French government could persuade or drive the French people to fight to preserve the frontiers created by the peace treaties in the east and southeast of Europe is quite another matter. But the point is today that no nation can afford to start a war to revise frontiers, and no French government in the present temper of the nation could give its assent to any effort at peaceful revision.

France has, then, to a striking degree come to occupy the place which Austria filled between 1815 and 1848, guaranteeing the settlement of Paris as the Hapsburg Monarchy guaranteed that of Vienna. Instead of a single statesman, namely Metternich, France has had Briand, Poincaré and Tardieu; but although the men have changed, the conception has remained the same.

I emphasize these points because writing from Berlin for this magazine I indicated the German conviction that existing conditions in Europe must be changed, treaties revised, reparations abolished, armies reduced or German forces increased. On all of these points French and German views are squarely in collision, and there is not the smallest evidence to support the German view that French opinion is modifying. On the contrary, by making their bargain with the Italians, the French have removed a mortgage and acquired greater freedom to deal with the neighbor over the Rhine.

The fundamental flaw in the whole German conception lay in the belief that France would be terrified by German events, and fearing still worse developments would recognize the necessity of compromise and concession. What has happened is that the French, visibly disturbed by German phenomena, have concluded that all concessions to a Germany in the throes of a Hitler explosion would be not merely useless but dangerous. Thus, ironically, Hitler has achieved in Paris only the making of a good market for Mussolini-and Mussolini has seen his chance. All German calculation of essential French concessions seems totally lacking in foundation. If Germany demands treaty revisions as the price of Franco-German coöperation, the French response is direct, short-and negative.



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## • THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS •

Edited by Albert Shaw

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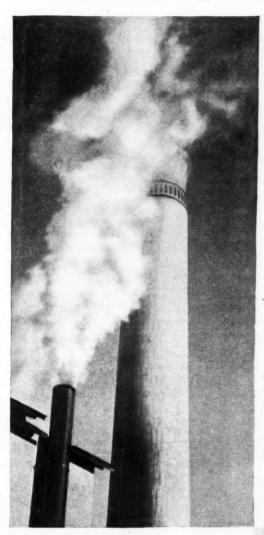
It is a picturesque ride, by boat or train, up the Rhine. But beyond the Rhine are the things you really ought to see. Page 92.

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written several articles for health publications that have been accepted and printed. I am now engaged in the preparation of some articles on church music and on business. Again I want to assure you that I am well satisfied that I decided to learn to write by your copy-desk method." Arthur S. Pettit, 3683/4 So. Burlington Ave., Los Angeles,



"My first big thrill came last month. An accept-ance slip! The check that followed was not

large, but I got a real kick out of it just the same, for it proved that I can write printable stuff." L. A. Emerton, Jackson Street, HanHave you ever tried?

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CHARLES SEYMOUR, historian and provost of Yale University, was born in New Haven, educated at Cambridge University in England, at Yale, and at the University of Paris. After receiving his Ph.D. degree in 1911, he became successively instructor, assistant professor, and professor of history at Yale. Since 1927 he has also been provost of the university. Dr. Seymour was a member of the Peace Commission at Paris in 1919. Besides books on history he has written "The Intimate Papers of Colonel House," "Woodrow Wilson and the World War," and "What Really Hap-pened at Paris."

- · WALTER SHERMAN GIFFORD, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, is a New Englander, educated at Harvard. Immediately after graduating in 1905 he entered the Western Electric Company of Chicago, where he rose to become chief statistician and vice-president. Since 1925 he has held his present post. During the War Mr. Gifford had opportunity to serve the United States in Washington. He was director of the United States Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission from 1916 to 1918, and secretary of the American representation on the Inter-Allied Munitions Council in 1918.
- · Frank Presbrey was one of the founders of the Boy Scout movement when it was started twenty-one years ago, and has been with it ever since. Mr. Presbrey received his bachelor's degree from Princeton in 1879. For four years he was editor and publisher of the Daily News-Register in Youngstown, Ohio. He founded and edited Public Opinion in Washington, and for several years was publisher of the Forum in New York. He is chairman of the board of the advertising agency which bears his name, the author of books on travel and on advertising, and is a director of many financial and philanthropic enterprises.
- EDWIN ROBERT ANDERSON SELIG-MAN, noted political economist, was born in New York City seventy years ago. Graduating from Columbia College in 1879, he studied at Berlin, Heidelberg, Geneva, and Paris, later receiving honorary doctorates from Heidelberg and Paris. His other degrees include M.A., Ph.D., and LL.D. An authority on economic matters, notably taxation, Dr. Seligman has held the McVickar professorship of political economy at Columbia University since 1904, a responsibility he will relinquish on July 1 to become professor emeritus. The author of many politico-financial works, he has appeared in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS before. Dr. Seligman has served on many public boards and committees, both municipal and federal.
- Burton E. Vaughan is a business man of Little Rock, Arkansas, and therefore writes with direct knowledge of his subject. He is a Princeton graduate.

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# So Clear ReadTh

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Old German print of the bombardment of Cagliari, 1793

# But the Island of Sardinia refused to turn pink

whatever color it was that map makers used to designate the possessions of France back in 1793!

It is a story they still proudly tell in the Island of Sardinia.

How the barking guns of Fort St. Elia kept the French men-of-war at bay during the great siege of Cagliari. How an invading party was cut to pieces before it could gain a foothold. And how the townspeople staged such a brilliant, loyal defense, that the ruling House of Savoy promised to reward them with many privileges.

That these promises were never kept, and finally led to the revolution of 1794-1796 is another story.

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This man-frequently called "The Ambassador of Opportunity" by LaSalle members-has made a study of commerce

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## THE WORLD OF BOOKS

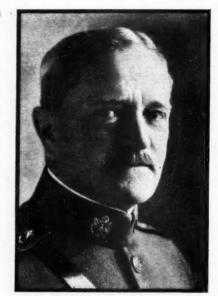
By WILLIAM B. SHAW

## General Pershing Speaks

VER SINCE the Armistice it has been known that General Pershing was engaged in writing his memoirs of the World War. That fact has no doubt helped to keep down the out-put of American officers' martial experiences to date. It was felt that the commander of the A. E. F. should be first to relate the full story of America's part in the War. The public naturally counted on getting from the one man who saw that participation from first to last the whole story of what went on under the Stars and Stripes in France from June, 1917, to November, 1918. Other officers could and did contribute recollections of particular episodes, but only the commander-in-chief was in a position to tell it all. Now the labor of twelve years is finished and we have, in two beautifully printed volumes, My Experiences in the World War, by John J. Pershing.

### Washington Incompetency

The skeleton of the narrative is the actual diary that the General kept in France from the day of his landing until the Armistice. Many extracts from this document are printed in the text and other passages are digested and summarized. Although the book takes the form of personal memoirs, its chief purpose, as made clear by the author from the beginning, is to bring out certain lessons of the war that he believes should be taken to heart by the American people. Our woeful state of unpreparedness has long been an old story-and a neglected one, but General Pershing fixes responsibility very definitely on men in high places at Washington in the early years of the World War for the astounding deficiencies that were revealed in the spring of 1917, when we entered the conflict. It is evident that the General Staff failed to function in that period as it had been expected to do when it was created (after the war with Spain). The possibility that an American army would be sent to Europe was permitted to become a probability before plans for such a contingency were made, and even our declaration of war failed to move the General Staff to action in the matter. "The War Department," says General Pershing, "was face to face with the question of sending an army to Europe and found that the General Staff had never considered such a thing. No one in authority had any definite idea how many men might be needed, how they should be organized and equipped, or where the tonnage to transport and supply them was to come from."



GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

But while the General is outspoken and unsparing in exposing our weaknesses, let no one imagine that scolding and lamentation make the major part of his deliverance. No commander was ever given a freer hand by his government. Not only does General Pershing realize this; he repeatedly expresses his gratitude to President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker (who is himself raised to a new stature in public estimation by these memoirs) for their trust and support throughout the War. For the men who made up the great armies of the A. E. F.—rank and file—he cannot say enough. No one will ever convince him that any European nation has produced finer bodies of fighting men than the hosts of American doughboys that he led to victory. On that point, at any rate, his mind is made up and he is inclined to be dogmatic.

## Insisting On an American Army

Our British and French friends may be disposed to criticise his reiteration of the argument for a separate American fighting unit on the Western front. In the spring of 1918 the Allied morale was at its lowest ebb. American unpreparedness was evident and the only way quickly to utilize American man power, as the Allied commanders saw it, was to incorporate our untrained doughboys in British and French units. That plan,

however, did not square with Pershing's conception of American participation in the war, nor with his idea of the purpose of the draft. He stood for the formation of an American army led by American officers. He knew that in taking such a position he had the backing of Washington, but having taken it his own resolution, energy and courage were required to hold it. At intervals up to the last month of hostilities he was in hot dispute with Marshal Foch and the other Allied leaders, but he never gave ground and in the end most of his opponents admitted that he was right.

### The Final Achievement

The contention of the French and British generals and statesmen was not altogether unreasonable at the beginning. They could not see the creation of an American army save as the outcome of a miracle. Very well, Pershing would show them the miracle. By November, 1918, 2,000,000 American soldiers were in France (combat strength, 1,256,478). The Germans saw the meaning of that accession of man power behind the Allied lines. They knew that in the American training camps were as many more. The Armistice quickly followed.

Not only had American troops been massed on the Western Front; a great fighting machine had been created. The battle of Meuse-Argonne, kept up incessantly for forty-seven days, engaging 1,200,000 men, started on a front of twenty-four miles which was extended to ninety. In all our history there never had been such a combat. This, of course, could hardly have been achieved without the close and continued coöperation of the British and French. Without British shipping our troops could not have been landed in France. Without French munitions they could not have fought. Yet there are probably few in either country who doubt today that American soldiers, under their own officers and following their own flag, did more to advance the cause of the Allies than they could possibly have done if they had served in

### Comment by General Harbord

Gen. J. G. Harbord, whose "Leaves from a War Diary" (1925) is one of the most readable of the war books, says in a New York *Herald Tribune* review of General Pershing's work:

"The difficulties overcome by the commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces are now made known

# WHAT A BUSINESS MAN SHOULD KNOW TO ADD \$5000 A YEAR TO HIS INCOME



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This chart will be of interest to every ambitious executive, no matter what his particular line of business may be. The man to whom business will pay its greatest rewards in the next five years is the one who understands the fundamental business principles which this chart covers.

This matter of adding to your income is not entirely a matter of brains. Not a matter of pull. Not even a matter of long experience.

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## The World of Books

to most Americans for the first time. The General emerges as one of the greatest men our country has produced. That conclusion cannot be escaped by anyone who seriously reads these volumes. Comparison with great soldiers of the past is almost impossible, for their purely military task of generalship was not complicated by problems of distance and diplomacy. Not since Xerxes has so great a host crossed the world of its time to make war."

It is indeed true that the problems encountered by General Pershing were dimly understood by his countrymen while the War was in progress. We are only now coming to a realization of them. As knowledge grows definite our respect for the resolute, courageous, clear-sighted American who directed our war effort in France must steadily increase.

### New Light on Grant as a Military Leader

T HAS BEEN SUGGESTED that Pershing in the years to come may rank with Grant, although there is little of parallelism in the careers of the two implicitly commanders. Both were trusted by the civil governments they served-Pershing from first to last by Wilson and Grant in the last two years of the Civil War by Lincoln, but the problems confronting them were never However, it may be comparable. deemed fortunate that just at this time the war record of General Grant has been restudied by an able writer of military history, Col. A. L. Conger, who bases The Rise of U. S. Grant on the General's own words in his contemporary reports, messages, and letters. The free use of these materials results in a vivid, impressive and coherent story, approaching autobiography in personal interest and authenticity. Military students will find the book valuable as an exposition of Civil War strategy.

## European History and Politics

GENERAL CHARLES SHERRILL, former Minister to Argentina, international expert, and frequent contributor to the Review of Reviews, is an avowed hero-worshiper. Two of his favorite characters are Bismarck and Mussolini, and in an interesting double biography he has compared the two through a series of dramatic episodes in which marked parallels are established.

Bismarck, Junker conservative, and Il Duce, proletarian radical, meet on the common ground of a consolidating nationalism—political in Germany, spiritual in Italy—which in the General's opinion renders the pair immortal. Bismarck's work withstood the acid test in 1918. Will Mussolini's system withstand economic shocks and the inevitable loss of its leader in days to come? The pseudo-Fascist régime in Spain has crumbled, but Italy steams ahead.

Bismarck and Mussolini is embellished

by a wealth of personal reminiscence, the author being personally acquainted with the dictator, the ex-Kaiser, and many other headline celebrities. His enthusiasm is contagious.

Men and Forces of Our Time, translated from the German of Valeriu Marcu, is a series of character sketches embracing Clemenceau, Lenin, Foch, Kemal, Croce, Chesterton, Delbrück, Sorel, and others. It deals with impressions rather than history, in true Ludwig style, but the picturization is striking.

A pessimistically objective view of Germany and the Germans is that of Eugen Diesel, son of the oil-motor's inventor. Dealing with every phase of his country's terrain, from "flora" to "food" and "future," this short volume consists of a series of rather nebulous sketches which contain, none the less, the sublimated essence of the country. Germany, he contends, is divided into a Ro-

many, he contends, is divided into a Romanic Southwest and a Slavonic Northeast, which show themselves in matters of race, culture, religion, and aptitude. The analysis of German types is perhaps Herr Diesel's finest chapter.

Incidentally, to understand modern Germany one must think in terms of proletarian Germany, ninety-two per cent. of whose people have an annual income under \$600!

The Dreyfus case, or "affair," as it was always called in France, is now a matter of history. While it continued it was itself in a sense a maker of history. Statesmen were raised by it to eminence and hurled down to defeat. More than once it threatened the relations of governments. Beginning with the accusation, trial and condemnation of an innocent French army captain in 1894, it dragged on through years of martyrdom and agitation to a second trial, resulting, in 1906, in the victim's acquittal, complete vindication, and rehabilitation. M. Jacques Kayser, a nephew of Captain Dreyfus, presents the complete story, based on official documents and other authentic data, in The Dreyfus Affair. This has been translated from the French by Nora Bickley.

### Analyzing Business Conditions

A S A PARTIAL OFFSET to the ecodergone in common with the rest of the world, we can at least point to few wellconsidered treaties intended to warn us from a course that would invite a repetition of like disasters in the future. One such book is Business Adrift, by Dean Wallace B. Donham of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Stated in its simplest terms, Dean Donham's message amounts to this: Business is where it is because it had no plan. As long as we remain adrift we may expect just such experiences. Foresight alone will enable us to make intelligent provision against the great unemployment evil. We have to take into account rapidly changing conditions in the business world. Instead of looking for trouble in the foreign export field, our energies should go to the building up of a home market, which already takes care of 90 per cent. of our product. A consistent policy of employment on public works should be developed by our governmental units in such a way as to supplement private initiative. In looking ahead we should rejoice in the strengthening of Western Europe. We should assume that the Russian Five-Year Plan will succeed, at least for a time.

These are the main heads in Dean Donham's program, but the chief point he makes is the absolute necessity of a guiding plan—the only human provision against going on the rocks.

Further constructive suggestions are offered by Stuart Chase in *The Nemesis of American Business*. He too stresses the need of planned production as the only way to head off overproduction and he wants something done to enable men now "fired at forty" to be kept in productive employment.

When we consider that business cycles have been studied by economists for many years it seems strange that there is still complaint of imperfect statistics covering the facts that must form the basis of such study. However, for given periods we now have reasonably accurate data and in his book, Forecasting Business Cycles, Dr. Warren M. Persons does an important service in bringing together the attested records of business conditions in the past that may be used in making scientific forecasts. He analyzes, as well as collects, the data.

Of course the recurrence of business crises never has and never will stop operations on the stock exchange. Just when one set of operators decides to unload stocks another group is equally certain that it is a good time to buy. That situation in which everybody wants to quit and go to farming never arrives. This being the case, it is important that the investing public, now larger than ever before, should have sound advice as to the fundamentals of the game. The writings of Frederic Drew Bond on stock speculation have been well received by conservative authorities. His latest book, Success in Security Operations, deals with many aspects of the matter. The chapters on how and why the market moves, market control, and market information are especially needed at this time and the novice in speculation will find much else in the volume that is well worth reading and absorb-

But there's the customers' man—how much did he have to do with the crash of 1929? According to Boyden Sparkes his influence has been underestimated. His book, *Customers' Man*, tells a typical tale of the great bull market, the like of which may never be seen again.

Experiences like those of the past two years tend to set everybody to thinking about the relation of business cycles to unemployment. That is one of the top-



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The classic for June is Jane Austen's PRIDE AND PREJUDICE—her immortal masterpiece which has held its place for more than a hundred years as one of the most charming romances in English literature. It is the delightful story of a love that will not be restrained by the traditional barriers of pride and prejudice.

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ics treated by Paul H. Douglas and Aaron Director of the Economics Department at the University in their new book, The Problem of Unemployment. This work assembles, digests, and analyzes the unemployment experience of Europe and America to date. It is a remarkable compendium of pertinent facts. The possibilities of systems of public employment offices and of unemployment insurance are thoroughly canvassed. Practical suggestions are offered looking to the creation of an efficient public employment service and a plan is proposed for unemployment insurance maintained by the joint contributions of workers and employers.

## Remarque's Post-War Novel

ERICH REMARQUE'S The Road Back is sequential to his famous "All Quiet on the Western Front," the War's premier epic. Dealing with the return of the Feldgrauen to civil life after the Armistice, it necessarily lacks the dramatic qualities which characterized the front-line "All Quiet." But the picture is a vital one, showing the veterans as a wornout crowd of men who don't fit in. The moral and economic disintegration of post-war Germany fairly glares at the reader, but through it all runs the fundamental idealism of the German character. "The Road Back" is a worthy, if less spectacular, heir to the laurels of "All Quiet." Herr Remarque's genius is now an established certainty.

## The Flying Fokker

WHEN THIRTY-FIVE Fokker airplanes were temporarily ordered out of passenger service by the government a few weeks ago after investigation of the crash in which Knute Rockne was killed, Anthony H. G. Fokker hurried to Washington. Said he: "The United States will not see Fokker airplanes blown from the sky merely by the error of maintenance of one operator. I am battling for my reputation. At present I am occupied with only another battle for our product."

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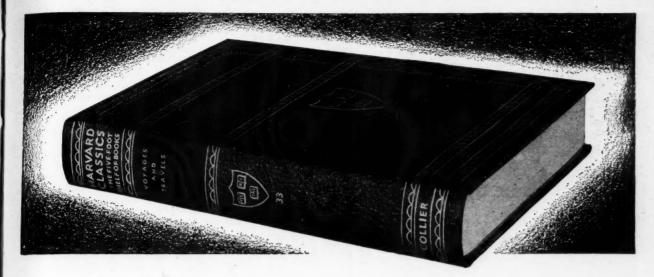
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The incident and the airplane builder's reaction are characteristic of the entire career outlined in *Flying Dutchman*, Mr. Fokker's autobiography. The book presents an egoist in continuous struggle, but one who now, at forty, has lived a life many a capable man would be proud of living in three score years and ten

Born in Java, a ne'er-do-well Dutch schoolboy who gave up formal education altogether, Fokker had built a successful airplane and taught himself to fly it at twenty. At twenty-two he had already shown the facility for designing planes which kept him always a jump ahead of his competitors. When war cane in 1914 he had interested the German military authorities, after Russia, England, Italy and Holland had turned



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him down. By 1916 he had designed the first synchronized machine gun, firing through the propeller, and before long Fokker fighters were enjoying a dreaded reputation among Allied airmen. Fokker grew rich, a prominent industrialist at twenty-eight. Then, after the German collapse, he had to start all over again—first in Holland, then in this country. Now he is an American citizen, and his American factory is allied with General Motors.

Fokker's insistence on his own ability -which is unquestionable-and his criticism of others, even when justified. are sometimes irritating. But the tale, written by Bruce Gould as co-author, makes good reading. Not the least interesting is the picture of what went on in Germany during the war and in the anarchy that followed.

### Human Aspects of the Five-Year Plan

FTER perusing all the learned treatises on Russia's Five-Year Plan one might easily miss some of the salient features of it if he failed to read that most enticing bit of Soviet propaganda, New Russia's Primer, by M. Ilin. And yet this is not propaganda at all in the sense that it was intended to influence opinion outside of Russia. It was written by a Russian engineer for Russian school children between the ages of twelve and fourteen. It is literally a "primer", prepared with far greater cleverness than is commonly applied to the writing of textbooks used in American schools. Its Russian title is "The Story of the Great Plan". From it we may learn how the Soviet authorities are enlisting the active interest of the youth of the land in the great adventure and at the same time the book is an unconscious revelation of the conditions under which this educational campaign is conducted. The translation is by Prof. George S. Counts of Teachers College, and Nucia P. Lodge.

Another view of the Russian peasant and especially of the village-dweller is afforded in Red Bread, by Maurice Hindus, an American of Russian birth, who has recently passed much time in his native land. Some of the material for this book the author obtained from his own playmates of his boyhood years. No doubt they told him much that they would have declined to impart to a stranger.

## Among the Biographers

S OMEWHAT OF A PARADOX in our literary history is the fame of James Fenimore Cooper. When it was the fashion in England to ask, "Who reads an American book?" Cooper had many readers in Europe. The time came when he was more read abroad than at home. Thousands in the British Isles and on the Continent based their ideas of our country on Cooper's tales.

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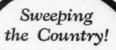
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## World of Books

This was not an ephemeral matter; it went on from generation to generation. In sheer vitality the author of "The Spy" and "The Last of the Mohicans" has not had his equal on this side of the Atlantic. Perhaps we do not realize that Cooper is still a prophet outside his own country.

Cooper died eighty years ago and the partial eclipse that overtook his reputation among his own countrymen did not have its origin solely in his writings. His had been a turbulent, not to say a contentious, career. After his return from a long sojourn in Europe he antagonized influential citizens in various ways. Unfortunately in defending himself from newspaper attacks he incurred the dislike, if not the pronounced enmity, of many writers for the press who for years exerted an influence on public opinion. The cumulative effect of all this was largely to neutralize the favorable reaction that had followed the publication of his earlier works. He became embittered and left instructions forbidding the writing of a biography by any member of his family. Until recently the public was not permitted access to his correspondence, which might have done much to mitigate the harsh judgments that were given circulation during many years. Now, by the wise decision of the Cooper heirs a selection of his letters has been published and the entire collection of papers was placed at the disposal of Mr. Henry W. Boynton for use in the preparation of a biographical volume, James Fenimore Cooper, which appeared early in May.

For more reasons than one the publication of this book is an event of real significance. It is not that any definite change in the valuation of Cooper's literary product is to be expected. It is too late for that. Cooper's Indians, for example, can no more be made to live than can their half-forgotten wooden prototypes that once advertised tobacco. But Cooper the man, as a force in the world of his day-a century separated from

our own—well deserves recognition. Cooper's correspondence discloses to Mr. Boynton a living portrait of the man in action. This portrait reveals Cooper with many of the foibles and some of the graver faults that had been charged against him for a hundred years. In some matters, no doubt, he was wrongheaded and cantankerous. Mr. Boynton does not try to paint over these warts. His subject is a big, human Americana kind of Grover Cleveland in literature. Three generations of Americans have missed a lot in not being permitted to know him intimately.

Psychological method is applied by Gamaliel Bradford in biographical studies of seven great figures of the twentieth century, five of whom are Americans. These studies are brought together in a single volume, The Quick and the Dead. Three of the American subjects were Presidents-Roosevelt, Wilson, and Coolidge. Edison and Ford represent the industrial age. Lenin and Mussolini stand

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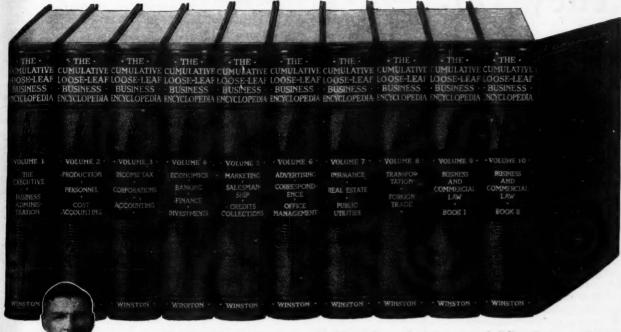
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## World of Books

for recent European developments in statecraft. On all these diverse personalities Mr. Bradford turns his relentless searchlight. Minor defects may escape its powerful rays, but not the serious shortcomings or failures. It is an ordeal that might well cause some of the "quick" among his subjects to wish themselves numbered with the dead.

Lord Nelson was England's premier hero of the Napoleonic wars; and his great name is inextricably linked with the sea battles of the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar. In the last named he met This leads to some sensational interpretation by George Edinger and E. J. C. Neep, who voice the opinion in their Nelson that the admiral deliberately sought his own death. "He was going blind, his body was tortured by illness, his King had slighted him, and the established order had rejected him." .Throughout runs the profound influence of Lady Hamilton, for whom Milord felt a truly touching devotion. England's attack upon neutral Denmark in 1801 is not minimized.

Two strange historical figures have been outlined in recent biographies-Sir Roger Casement and the Duc de Morny. In Traitor or Patriot, Denis Gwynn tells of the dark crusader who rendered such humanitarian services in Belgian Congo and Peru. Later he strove to free his Ireland with German wartime aid, and died a traitor's-or a martyr's-death at the hands of his country's oppressors. Imperial Brother, by Maristan Chapman, is a picturesque sketch of the nineteenth-century Beau Brummell-illegitimate half-brother and actual brains of the ill-fated Emperor Napoleon III. Morny was boulevardier, big business man, statesman, and soldier; cynical, hard-boiled, repulsive, yet an idol of the time. He feared Prussia long before 1870, and predicted the Anglo-French-Russian alliance of 1914.

### **Theatrical Traditions**

HE LEGITIMATE STAGE still cher-THE LEGITIMALE STATE THE LEGITIMALE STATE STATE OF THE LEGITIMALE STATE OF THE STAT the movies cannot wholly dissipate. There was a time when great players toured the country with supporting companies letter-perfect in more than a single play. A few oldsters can still recall the triumphant passage of the Booth-Barrett aggregation from coast to coast in the season of 1886-87. One member of that company, then a young girl, made careful notes at the time, which at last have blossomed out in a book-Behind the Scenes with Edwin Booth, by Katherine Goodale (Kitty Molony). It is an intimate, day-by-day record of that memorable tour, later recalled by Mr. Booth himself as the happiest theatrical season in his career. Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske writes the

Another delightful sheaf of American stage reminiscences is offered by Jefferson de Angelis-a comedian of our own day who harks back to the San Fran-

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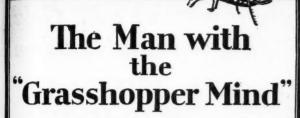
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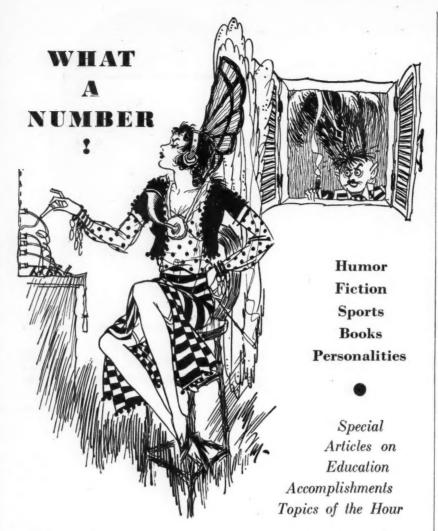
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### **New Books Mentioned** in This Department

MY EXPERIENCES IN THE WORLD WAR, by General Pershing. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 2 vols. 836 pp. Ill. \$10. THE RISE OF U. S. GRANT. The Century

Co. 390 pp. Ill. \$5.

BISMARCK AND MUSSOLINI, by General Charles Sherrill. Houghton, Mifflin. 304 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

MEN AND FORCES OF OUR TIME, by Valeriu Marcu. Viking Press. 244 pp. \$2.50. GERMANY AND THE GERMANS, by Eugen Diesel. Macmillan, translated by W. D.

Robson-Scott. 306 pp. Maps. \$2. The Dreyfus Affair, by Jacques Kayser. Covici, Friede. 432 pp. \$5.

BUSINESS ADRIFT, by W. B. Donham. Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill. pp. \$2.50.

THE NEMESIS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS, by Stuart Chase. Macmillan. 191 pp. \$2.

FORECASTING BUSINESS CYCLES, by William M. Persons. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 295 pp. \$4.50.

Success in Security Operations, by Frederic Drew Bond. Greenberg. 273

Customers' Man, by Boyden Sparkes. Frederick A. Stokes. 182 pp. \$1.50.
The Problem of Unemployment, by

Paul H. Douglas and Aaron Director. Macmillan. 505 pp. \$3.50.

THE ROAD BACK, by Erich Maria Remarque. Boston: Little, Brown. Translated by A. H. Wheen. \$2.50.

FLYING DUTCHMAN, by Anthony H. G. Fokker and Bruce Gould. Henry Holt & Co. 282 pp. \$3.
New Russia's Primer: The Story of

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN, by M. Ilin. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 162 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

RED BREAD, by Maurice Hindus. Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith. 372 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER, by Henry Walcott Bynton. The Century Co. 408 pp. Ill. \$5.

THE QUICK AND THE DEAD, by Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 283 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

NELSON, by George Edinger and E. J. C. Neep. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 306 pp. Ill. \$3.

TRAITOR OR PATRIOT, by Denis Gwynn. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. Ill.

IMPERIAL BROTHER, by Maristan Chap-

man. The Viking Press. Ill. \$3.50. A VAGABOND TROUPER, by Jefferson De Angelis and Alvin F. Harlow. Harcourt,

Brace and Company. 325 pp. Ill. \$3.50.
Behind the Scenes with Edwin Booth, by Katherine Goodale. Houghton Mifflin Company. 328 pp. Ill. \$4.

## Are Unreasonable FEARS and NERVOUSNESS **Wrecking Your Life?**

### Fear Is YOUR Worst Enemy

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You are destroying yourself by your own wrong thinking. Worry, Self Consciousness, Apprehension, Overseriousness, Overanxiety, and the hundred and one fears which can acand the hundred and one fears which can accompany loss of confidence, can tear you to pieces and in time actually kill. They create fertile soil for the growth of very real disorders. FEAR poisons you through a chemical change which it creates. FEAR lowers your vitality and tone, causes functional inaction, and creates nerve-supersensitiveness. These statements are backed by the best medical authorities of today.

Has FEAR become stronger than your REASON? Do you find yourself in a "Mental Trap" from which you can see no avenue of escape? Is FEAR limiting you mentally, physically, socially or financially? Then it is TIME TO ACT. FEAR will crush you completely if you continue to be a slave to it.

### The True Cause of NERVOUSNESS and NEURASTHENIA

One out of every ten persons in the U. S. today is suffering from a partial or complete NERVOUS BREAKDOWN. Over 500,000 cases of mental disorders were treated in institutions alone last year. The demand for a very REAL FORM OF HELP is great. Breakdowns are the result of loss of confidence—FEAR. They come to those possessing a sensitive, emotional nature, with a slight tendency toward nervousness; whose early childhood training was not suited to this type of child. Your temperament represents an childhood training was not suited to this type of child. Your temperament represents an active—"going" mind which has become introspective. Worry alone will in time completely wreck the strongest nervous system. FEAR is a constant irritation to the Sympathetic Nervous System, and in time the nerves become so hypersensitive that alarming symptomy present themselves. Help is sought nerves become so hypersensitive that alarming symptoms present themselves. Help is sought along purely physical lines until the sufferer learns that this form of service is of little avail. YOUR type and temperament must be dealt with as an individual. There is no standardized or set form of aid which will work in all cases. BUT YOU CAN BE RESTORED TO HEALTH.

### To Just Drift SPELLS DESTRUCTION

You CANNOT drift out of your present TOU CANNOT drift out of your present condition. Conditions must be met in JUST THE RIGHT WAY if you are to again be normal. You must first have a perfect and definite understanding of yourself, these FEARS, and of your powers. Through a process of reeducation your VIEWPOINT toward self and life must be changed. When you have reached a point where you have you have reached a point where you can FORGET YOURSELF and view things as normal people do—YOU WILL BE NORMAL. There is no hidden, undiscovered, obscure state of weakness present in you, but you have drifted into this condition through a lack of understanding and it has all boards. lack of understanding, and it has all been according to LAW.

according to LAW.

Let one ignorant of the laws of electricity take hold of a heavily-charged wire and death may be the result. But that very same force when wisely used and directed becomes most constructive and a real blessing. So it is with YOUR powers. There is but ONE FORCE at work in you—THE NATURAL LIFE-FORCE—and when you have made the proper adjustments and redirected these powers, you will find them growing stronger and serving you in a most wonderful way. TRULY, you have been your own worst enemy.

### YOUR Trouble Is Absolutely Curable

Drugs cannot be of service to you. You must go back to the TRUE CAUSE of your trouble and eliminate the destructive influences that WRONG THINKING and LIVING have brought. The change will be according to law and will be in the form of Psychology, Psycho-Analysis, Physical Culture, Dietetics, the change which takes also in these Psycho-Analysis, Physical Culture, Dietetics, etc. The change which takes place in those who earnestly and honestly follow out NA-TURE'S WAY, is astounding. You haven't really lost any of your powers; they have just been weakened through lack of proper direction. You CAN build up YOUR powers, CAN get yourself in hand, CAN make all necessary adjustments—CAN BE FREE.

### A Human, Intimate, Personal Help Is Offered YOU

I have made a success of my work because I have never lost sight of the fact that I AM HUMAN, and have taken a very real interest in my patient. YOUR troubles are MY problems when you come to me with them, and I can feel YOUR suffering, and see things from YOUR angle. I understand perfectly and KNOW that your suffering is very real. Your reactions are NOT imaginary and I know that your suffering at times is very real torture. There is no suffering quite as hard to bear as that created by mind and nerves. I have a service—A MOST HUMAN ONE—that I can carry to your very door. It is of a very personal and intimate character. Thousands have been made stronger and happier through this service. I OFFER IT TO YOU.

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(Written on a photo hanging over my desk)—
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(From another photo)—"Leavitt-Science has not only made me complete master of my body, but it has placed me on an equality with Big Thinking Men." J. E. G.

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"Doctor, I have never felt better in my whole life than I do now. That's saying a whole lot, isn't it? Well, it's true. You and your method of cure get the credit." L. S.

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before I found out what was the matter and how to right the trouble. I like the winning feeling." T. W.

"I have never invested \$—— which brought me as much return as my investment in your work. As I have learned the effects of fear on the body I see now why I had my nervous breakdown." J. A. S.

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"I am feeling splendid Doctor. I feel grateful to you for what you have done for me. I was a perfect wreck when I came to you for help. I was on the downward road, toward suicide, but things have changed completely." E. T. G.

"The other day I met a friend who didn't know me because I looked so good. He certainly commented on my good appearance and I really look the part. I must truthfully say that this improvement has taken piace since I began treatment with you." J. G. L.

"Your one month of instruction simply changed my whole viewpoint of life." J. S.

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Tirelessly, day or night, without rest or sleep, the Bell System awaits but the lifting of the receiver to carry your voice to any one of thirty-two million other telephone users in this country and abroad, and on ships at sea. It is done so quickly and with so little trouble that few people stop to consider what goes on between the giving of the number and the completion of the call.

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